



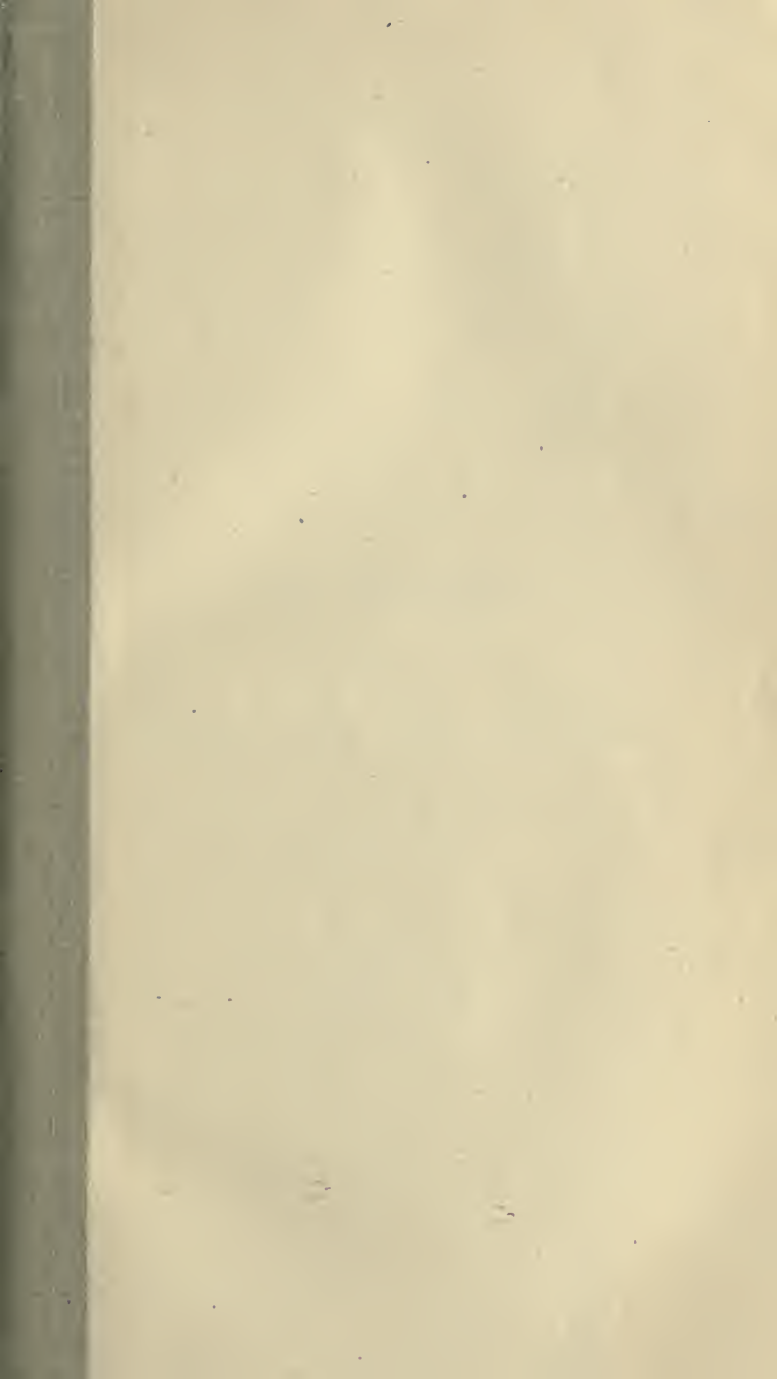
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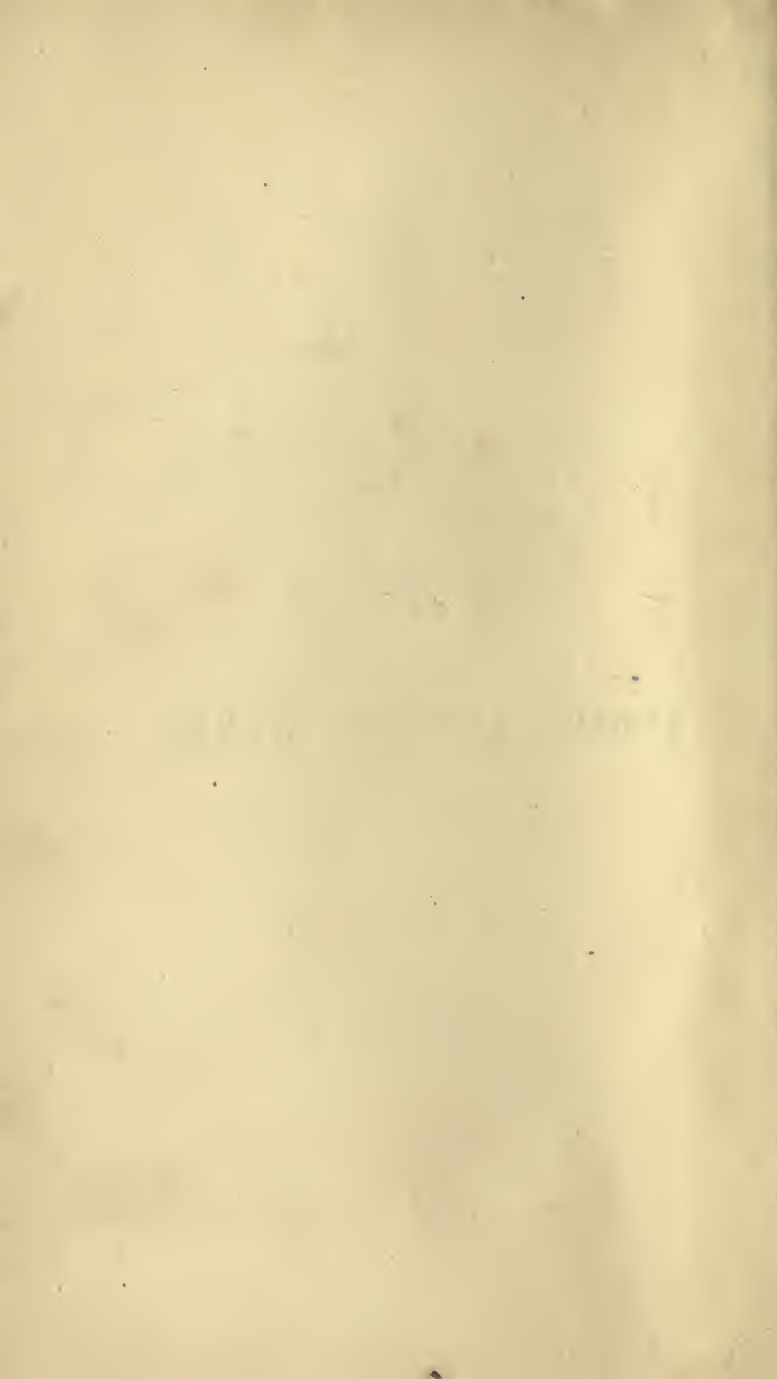
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THE HISTORY
OF
JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS.



THE HISTORY
OF
JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS;

AND
A REVIEW OF THE CONTROVERSY
RESPECTING
THE IDENTITY OF JUNIUS.

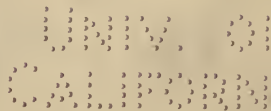
WITH
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
PORTRAITS AND SKETCHES BY JUNIUS.

BY JOHN JAQUES.

NOTHING IS SO SECRET BUT TIME AND TRUTH WILL REVEAL IT.
PROVERB.

LONDON:
BELL AND WOOD, 186, FLEET STREET.

1843.



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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

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P R E F A C E.

THE inquiries respecting the Identity of the Author of the Letters of Junius having terminated without the expectations of discovery so repeatedly held out to the Public being realized,—Sir Philip Francis having died and made no sign,—and the three seals which secure the mysterious Box at Stowe still remaining unbroken,—the proper period seems to have arrived for reviewing the whole controversy, and treating the subject historically. This has been attempted in the present work; which will be found to contain all the information that could be collected respecting JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS, with some account of the FALSE JUNIUSES, and a more minute and critical examination of the claims of THREE INDIVIDUALS, whose pretensions have been the subject of much serious discussion.

In executing this design, the statements and arguments of the advocates of the different suspected persons have generally been given in their own

language, to obviate any suspicion of mis-representation; but in commenting upon their lucubrations, the Reviewer has assumed the privilege of stating his own views, and expressing his sentiments, freely and without reserve.

Whether the conclusions at which he has arrived from a careful investigation of the whole case, be correct or not, must be left to the decision of a tribunal that seldom pronounces an erroneous judgment; but from whose decision, whether right or wrong, he is aware there can be no appeal; namely—PUBLIC OPINION.

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THE INVESTIGATORS OF JUNIUS.

THE question respecting the Author of Junius's Letters is thought, we believe, by philosophers, to be one of more curiosity than importance. We are very far from pretending that the happiness of mankind is materially interested in its determination. But it must be viewed as a point of literary history; and among discussions of this description it ranks very high. That the community has long taken an extraordinary interest in this question, that a great and universal curiosity has been felt to know who wrote the letters, seems quite sufficient to justify a good deal of pains in the research, and satisfaction in the discovery.

Edinburgh Review, vol. xxix. p. 94.

Surely the question about Junius is in itself far more important than the question about the Epistles of Phalaris; and who ever blamed Bentley, for wasting over it oil and ink, labour and time.

Mr. E. H. Barker's Preface, p. 43.

The chances of discoveries being made are multiplied in proportion to the number of those who become Investigators.

Printing Machine.

CHAPTER I.

Inquiry whether Junius was the “sole depository of his own secret.”—Remarks on the Correspondence between Junius and Wilkes.—Mr. Cumberland’s opinion of Junius.—The consequences of the numerous unsuccessful attempts to discover Junius on public opinion.—Ample materials for making the discovery, now before the public.—Reasons why Junius’s descendants cannot be expected to divulge the secret.—An account of Woodfall’s complete Edition of Junius’s Letters; and of the Publications advocating the claims of the various candidates for the Authorship of the Letters.—Particulars of the investigations instituted by Messrs. Wilkes and Butler, and by Dr. Good, and their conclusions respecting the Characteristics of Junius.—The relative merits of these investigators examined.—Observations on the connexion between Junius and Woodfall.

THE INVESTIGATORS OF JUNIUS.

“ I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion of my abilities, to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it Immortal.”

SUCH are the terms of desperate revenge, in which the stern and vindictive Junius threatened to hunt down and devote to eternal infamy the chief object of his inveterate hatred—the Duke of Grafton, while he fancied himself securely veiled in clouds and darkness. For in the dedication of his great work to the English nation, with affected humility, but real arrogance, Junius thus speaks of himself: “ If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle—I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.” At his appointed hour, this proud boaster doubtless departed hence, and was no more seen; and the mortal frame which once contained that lofty spirit, before whose withering sarcasms and fierce invectives, nobles and princes had crouched and trembled, mouldered in the grave—but whether his “ secret perished with him,” as he had predicted, will form the subject of our present inquiry.

In a private letter to Mr. Wilkes, Junius says, “ I am willing to accept so much of your friendship as you can impart to a man whom you will assuredly never know—besides every personal consideration, if I were known, I

could no longer be a useful servant to the public. At present, there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness we are told, is one source of the sublime. The mystery of Junius increases his importance."

The above oracular response was evidently thrown out to overawe and deter the frail mortal with whom this demigod condescended to hold converse, from prying into the mystery of his identity; and the language used by the bold and able demagogue to whom this awful declaration was made, when addressing the unknown god of his political idolatry, is not a little remarkable.

It will be observed, and probably not without surprise, that the man who had braved all the terrors of the House of Commons, and always presented a front of brass when assailed by the whole force of government, no sooner comes within the magic circle of this invisible and mysterious being, than by the most abject expressions of humility and inferiority, he acknowledges the uncontrollable influence of a superior power, and seems conscious that, if he failed to fulfil the behest of the Master Magician, he might expect to be menaced, like Caliban—

"If thou neglect'st or dost unwillingly
What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps,
Fill all thy bones with aches;"

for Wilkes replies in this abject strain: "I do not mean to indulge the impertinent curiosity of finding out the most important secret of our times, the author of Junius. I will not attempt with profane hands to tear the sacred veil of the sanctuary; I am disposed, with the inhabitants of Attica, to erect an altar to the unknown god of our

political idolatry, and will be content to worship him in clouds and darkness. After the first Letter of Junius to me, I did not go to Woodfall, to pry into a secret I had no right to know. The letter itself bore the stamp of Jove. I was neither doubting nor impertinent. I wish to comply with every direction of Junius, to profit by his hints, and to have the permission of writing to him on any important occasion."

Mr. Richard Cumberland, in his interesting Memoirs, says, "I consider Tristram Shandy as the most eccentric work of my time, and Junius the most acrimonious. We have heard much of his style; I have just been reading him over with attention, and I confess I can see but little to admire. The thing to wonder at is, that a secret to which several must have been privy has been so strictly kept. If Sir William Draper, who baffled him in some of his assertions, had kept his name out of sight, I am inclined to think he might have held up the cause of candour with success. The publisher of Junius, I am told, was deeply guaranteed; of course, although he might not know his author, he must have known whereabouts to look for him. The man who wrote it had a *savage* heart, for some of his attacks are execrable; he was a hypocrite, for he disavows private motives, and makes pretensions to a patriotic spirit. I can perfectly call to mind the general effect of his letters, and am of opinion that his malice overshot its mark. Let the anonymous defamer be as successful as he may, it is but an unenviable triumph, a mean and cowardly gratification, which his dread of a discovery forbids him to avow." Since this judgment was passed upon Junius by his contemporary, at the commencement of the present century, Mr. Wood-

fall's publication has disclosed to us the nature of the guarantee alluded to by Cumberland, and furnished us with many additional clues to know whereabouts to look for him, who, under the shadow of a name, wielded such substantial power.

Many years ago, a noble lord, now filling one of the most exalted judicial stations in the kingdom, was heard to remark, that "Junius must have been placed in a peculiar situation; and was, no doubt, deterred from claiming the honours justly due to his unrivalled compositions, from a conviction that the disclosure of his name would have overwhelmed him with infamy, on account of the baseness of his motives, and the treachery of his conduct." The observation struck the writer at the time, and subsequent investigation and reflection have convinced him that it was founded in truth.

The laurels of Junius have, at different times, been claimed for so many persons, whose pretensions have been unable to withstand the slightest scrutiny, that a recent writer has not scrupled to class the inquiry after "Junius" among "worn out ideas;" and repeated disappointments have at last made the public incredulous or indifferent on the subject. A careful review of the controversy has, however, satisfied the present writer, that sufficient evidence is already before the public to render the identity sought for a question of little doubt: but, as the various facts on which the argument is grounded lie disjointed and scattered throughout a multiplicity of publications, there is still much to be done towards arranging the evidence, so as to bring the whole to bear with full and cumulative force on the point in issue: for there are many scraps of information dispersed here and there

in various books, which in their isolated states seem very immaterial to the question, and yet upon being introduced into their proper places in the chain of evidence, are found materially to advance and strengthen the argument. "In books designed for amusement," observes Montesquieu, "three or four pages may give an idea of the style and the perfection of the work; in books of argumentation we see nothing if we do not see the whole chain."

Mr. Chambers, in his biographical sketch of M. Haüy, remarks, that "there is a class of philosophers who, by collecting together a mass of materials which they are unable to put together themselves, leave them to be wrought into forms of harmonious beauty by other more fortunate and gifted individuals. In casting our eye over the bright pages of modern discovery, we cannot fail to be struck by this result—facts and experiments are accumulated through long years of quiet study by the industry of numerous observers, and old theories, unable to embrace them, must be abandoned, and a more extensive chain employed to connect them so as to form a whole. For a time, no plan appears practicable, when suddenly, and often from the bosom of the people, a great genius springs forth, and by raising himself to a higher vantage ground than that occupied by his fellow-labourers, sees at once how the whole may be arranged and combined so as to form a perfect whole. In proof of this statement, reference is made to the discoveries of Newton, Watt, Davy, Cuvier, and Haüy." Now, without placing the subject of our present inquiry in competition with the important discoveries in science made by those illustrious individuals, we think there is suffi-

cient analogy between the state in which they found the respective sciences that were the subjects of their successful investigation and the object of our present inquiry, to justify our making, at very humble distance, and on a subject of minor importance, a somewhat similar attempt.

We are aware there are persons who think, that as Junius and all his contemporaries have now passed off the stage of existence, and the tomb has closed upon their contests and enmities, the period is not far distant when his descendants may be expected to come forward and produce the author's famous vellum-bound and gilt set of his works, and claim the honours unanimously awarded to the genius of their ancestor: but in this opinion we cannot concur; such a disclosure would be inconsistent with the ordinary feelings of human nature. It certainly could not be expected from his *immediate descendants*; and the highest literary fame of an ancestor so remote as to be personally unknown to his more distant relatives, would probably be regarded as a "trifle light as air," when poised in the balance against even the imaginary disgrace of being allied to a man who is considered to have violated the most sacred ties of private friendship and public honour.

If, therefore, the secret be ever penetrated, it should seem that it is only to be effected by the persevering labours and sagacity of numerous investigators; and perhaps it may be found that we already possess sufficient means (if judiciously applied) of yet dragging this defamer of character—this moral assassin—even at the eleventh hour, from that obscurity, which he vainly imagined to be impenetrable, into the full glare of day;

and by a complete chain of circumstantial evidence to transfix the soaring Junius to the earth, as the giant Gulliver was by the minute but innumerable cords of the Lilliputians, there to bear the obloquy due to his demerits so long as his own brilliant compositions and the English language shall endure.

Indeed, the ardour with which the subject has been pursued, shews that there is a mental gratification and pleasure attending such investigations, which afford an ample recompense for the labour and trouble bestowed upon them, independently of any expectation of fame, which the most fortunate inquirer is by no means certain of obtaining.

Before the publication of the edition of Junius by Mr. G. Woodfall, the son of the original publisher of the Letters, the public were not in possession of sufficient data to form a correct judgment on this interesting topic; the whole matter was involved in obscurity, and nothing but vague and uncertain conjectures could be formed on the subject. That publication, however, poured a clear stream of light into the palpable obscure, by disclosing to the world, from a source of unquestionable authenticity, a vast mass of direct and incidental facts and circumstances relating to Junius and his writings.

This work contains in three volumes, not only the whole of the letters written by the author of Junius, and originally printed in the newspaper called the "Public Advertiser," under various signatures, but also the writer's private and confidential correspondence with Mr. Wilkes and Mr. H. S. Woodfall, with eight fac-similes of his handwriting taken from his private letters to Woodfall, and five seals used by the author of Junius.

It also gives (with one remarkable exception, which will be noticed in its proper place) fac-similes of the handwriting of all the principal persons to whom the letters had then been attributed. And there is prefixed to the work a valuable preliminary essay, written by the late Dr. John Mason Good, discussing the political and literary merits of the Letters, and canvassing the pretensions of the various suspected authors.*

The private letters of Junius to Mr. Woodfall, and his confidential correspondence with Mr. Wilkes, are of the first importance, as regard the present inquiry; for, not being intended to meet the eye of the public, they contain, as might be expected, many allusions to the pursuits and personal habits of the writer, with his off-hand opinions on various subjects, and many little incidental traits of character, which afford useful hints and clues to lead us to the discovery of the real author of these celebrated compositions.

Previously to the publication of Mr. Woodfall's valuable work, the only persons who appear to have seriously

* In Mr. Woodfall's complete edition of Junius the Letters are classed in the following order:—

1. Junius' Private Letters to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, consisting of sixty-four letters and notes.

2. His Confidential Correspondence with Mr. Wilkes, containing altogether eighteen letters, of which ten are written by Junius, and eight by Wilkes. The above are all comprised in the first volume.

3. The Letters of Junius which are usually printed in the common editions, containing sixty-nine letters.

4. The Miscellaneous Letters of Junius written under various other signatures, consisting in the whole of 113 letters and papers, which occupy part of the second and the whole of the third volumes.

investigated the subject of the authorship of the Letters of Junius, were Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Charles Butler, and the result of their joint inquiries was first published by the latter in a letter dated July 1799, and afterwards with some additions in his *Reminiscences* in 1822. But the appearance of Mr. Woodfall's work stimulated the exertions of many other investigators, and the following works have since been published in support of the claims of various individuals. In 1816, Mr. John Taylor published "The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living character [Sir Philip Francis] established." This work created considerable sensation in the literary world, which was not diminished by a very able critique appearing upon it in the *Edinburgh Review* for November 1817, said to have been written by Mr. Brougham, wherein the Reviewer confessed himself almost a convert to the views of Mr. Taylor. The editor also of an edition of Junius, published at Edinburgh in 1822, who styles himself "*Atticus Secundus*," likewise acquiesces in the reasoning of Mr. Taylor, in some able preliminary dissertations prefixed to the work.

In the year 1825, there appeared "A Critical Inquiry regarding the real Author of the Letters of Junius, proving them to have been written by Lord Viscount Sackville, by George Coventry." This work was printed by Mr. G. Woodfall, having been previously announced for publication by Mr. Murray. Mr. Coventry's statement seems to have made a serious impression on some ingenious writer on the other side of the Atlantic, for there was published anonymously, at Boston, North America, in 1828, a work entitled—"Junius Unmasked,

or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius." This book contains some able arguments in corroboration of Mr. Coventry's views, but the facts and materials on which they are founded appear to have been taken almost exclusively from Mr. Coventry's book. This American publication was reviewed in No. 65, of the *North American Review*, and a decision given in favour of the claims of Lord George Sackville: and thus the authorities on behalf of these two rival candidates appear nearly balanced. In the year 1828, Mr. E. H. Barker published his *Five Letters on the Author of Junius*, entitled—I. The claims of Sir Philip Francis, K.B., to the Authorship of Junius' Letters disproved. II. Some inquiries into the claims of the late Charles Lloyd, Esq. to the composition of them. This is an exceedingly curious and interesting work, containing letters from several intelligent correspondents to Mr. Barker, which detail many particulars respecting the Letters of Junius, and their supposed author, among the most valuable of which are several communications from Mr. Coventry and Mr. Butler, of so late a date as 1828. Indeed, the author appears to have been indefatigable in his endeavours to obtain all possible information on the subject of his investigation.

In 1831, another work was published at Boston, in America, entitled "*An Essay on Junius and his Letters, embracing a sketch of the life and character of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and memoirs of certain other distinguished individuals, by Benjamin Waterhouse, M.D.*;" in which the author gives the following account of the commencement and result of his labours. "After recovery from a slight infection caught from Thomas Paine,

which disorder never rose to delirium, I was marvelously struck by the Letters of Junius, and my rapture increased at every review of the brilliant and weighty volumes. The high and noble bearing of that writer seemed akin to that daring spirit which impelled the Americans to declare not only resistance but defiance to the gigantic power of Britain—an inspiration we believed like that which emboldened young David to combat and prostrate Goliath. After a thoughtful series of years spent on the subject of our inquiry, and reiterated examination of facts as they rose; and after disciplining speculation by *internal* as well as external evidence, I had concluded and settled down many years since in the opinion that William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was the author of the celebrated letters under the signature of Junius.”

But notwithstanding all the new lights afforded by “*Woodfall's Junius*,” and with every possible respect for the industry, ingenuity, and abilities of the more recent investigators, it may be doubted whether, among the numerous persons who have engaged in this inquiry, any of them possessed qualifications for the task, equal to Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Charles Butler, who jointly investigated the subject with great diligence and acumen. Mr. Wilkes, as before observed, had been honoured with the confidential correspondence of Junius himself. And Mr. Butler was one of the most eminent conveyancers of his time, and accustomed in his daily professional avocations to weigh and decide on the most subtle and refined points of evidence.

In his reminiscences, Mr. Butler has given the following account of their proceedings: “One of the

amusements of Mr. Wilkes and the reminiscent was an attempt to discover the author of Junius's letters. With this view they considered them with great attention, examined many of the originals, collected and sifted all the anecdotes which they could learn, and weighed all the opinions and conjectures they could hear of."

These conversations took place from the years 1776 to about 1784, during which time Mr. Butler lived on terms of great intimacy with Mr. Wilkes; and Mr. Butler adds, "our conversations on Junius's Letters began from a whimsical circumstance. Business having carried me to Ireland in 1776, I wrote to Mr. Wilkes from Holyhead. On my return, he informed me that my letter had been stopped at the post-office, from the similarity in the handwriting to that of Junius.* This made me wish to see the original of Junius's letters, and he produced them to me." By this investigation, these gentlemen did not so far satisfy their own minds as to pronounce with any degree of certainty who was the author of the letters of Junius; but, Mr. Butler has left on record in his reminiscences the following conclusions, as the result of their inquiry, which we cannot but regard

* It has been suggested that this must have been a hoax of that arch wag, John Wilkes; and it has been asked, how should a Post-office clerk become acquainted with Junius's mode of writing, unless the authorities of the Post Office had first opened *all Letters* addressed to Mr. Woodfall, until they happened to meet with that rarity, a letter of Junius, sent by the post? Mr. Barker's supposition, "that a clerk, or some other person, accidentally acquainted with Junius' handwriting, saw the letter of Mr. Butler, and thought he discovered a similitude," is by no means satisfactory, as it still leaves the main question unanswered, viz., how could a Post-office clerk *accidentally discover* what Junius and Woodfall took such pains to conceal?

as a memorial highly honourable to the acuteness and sagacity of these two able investigators, and we therefore present them to the reader, as affording data of the utmost value in pursuing the proposed inquiry.

“Arguing synthetically,” says Mr. Butler, “we determined that Junius must be *a resident in London*, or its environs, from the immediate answers which he generally gave his adversaries; that *he was not an author by profession*, from the visible improvement which from time to time was discernible in his style; that *he was a man of high rank*, from the tone of equality which he seemed to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them; that *he was not a profound lawyer*, from the gross inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions; that *he had a personal animosity against the King, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Mansfield*, from the bitterness of his expressions respecting them; that *he had lived with military men*, from the propriety of his language on military subjects; and that *he was a great reader of novels*, from his frequent allusions to them. The general idea that the letters were the composition of *more than one person* we always rejected.”

We also find that Dr. Good, the author of the Preliminary Essay, prefixed to Mr. Woodfall's edition of Junius, arrives at nearly the same conclusions on the subject, as will appear by the following extract from the Essay: “From the observations contained in this Essay, it should seem to follow unquestionably that the author of the letters of Junius *was an Englishman* of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution, and history of his native country; that *he was a man of easy if not affluent circumstances*, of

unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account. That he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the Cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets; that *he had attained an age* which would allow him to boast, without vanity, of ample knowledge and experience of the world; that during 1767, 68, 69, 70, 71, and part of 72, *he resided almost constantly in London*, or its vicinity, devoting a *very large portion of his time* to political affairs, and publishing his political lucubrations under different signatures in the Public Advertiser; that in his natural temper he was quick, irritable, and impetuous; *subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities*, but possessed of a *high independent spirit*, honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was *strict in his moral conduct*, and in his *attention to public decorum*; an avowed member of the *established church*; and though acquainted with English judicature, *not a lawyer by profession*. What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not, but these are sufficient; and *the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly* is in vain brought forwards as the author of the Letters of Junius."

Whatever may be thought of the correctness of Dr. Waterhouse's hypothesis, that the Earl of Chatham was Junius, certain it is that he coincides in a remarkable manner with Mr. Butler and Dr. Good, as to the characteristics of Junius; for he says—"It appears to our

view that the writings of Junius emanated from one mind, and yet not without assistance; p. 97. The whole series of letters indicate the author of them to have been a great man, a rich man, and an indignant one; for here resentment and even wrath supplied the ordinary stimulus of fame, which the great man was contented to forego, sharpening to a keen edge the weapon of personal indignation, as well as public avengement; p. 98. It appears that the author of the Letters must be sought among the very few great men of his day and country,—the Burleighs and the Sullys of the kingdom; such men alone could give lessons of wisdom to a discontented nation, and its troubled king; p. 100. He seems to have been in the first rank of subjects, like one who had retired from high office in disgust; p. 103. A haughty spirit pervades the writings of Junius, and sometimes an imperious, domineering cast of mind, even when he must have discovered that he was wrong, as in his hasty attack on Parson Horne; p. 102. There is internal evidence that the writer of the Letters was a personage settled down in the steadfastness of advanced life and confirmed principles, under a satiety of worldly grandeur, familiarized with royalty, acquainted with privy councils, parliaments, and diplomatic affairs, and thoroughly versed in the architecture of the English constitution; p. 101."

Thus it appears that the results of three separate and independent inquiries respecting the character and qualifications of the author of the Letters of Junius, made by persons unquestionably the most competent to form correct judgments on the subject, are not only consistent with each other, but coincide in all material particulars.

It is remarkable that both Mr. Butler and Dr. Good ultimately abandoned the pursuit of Junius in despair;* but it is clear, that while they were engaged in their interesting search, each proceeded in his course *con amore*, and in the spirit described by Cowley—

“Although I think thou never found wilt be,
Yet I’m resolved to search for thee:
The search itself rewards the pain.”

When we examine the relative degree of authority to which these investigators are entitled, we are inclined on the whole to give the preference to Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Butler; for these gentlemen seem to have been actuated by no other motives than laudable curiosity, and a sincere desire to discover the real author of the Letters; and if Mr. Wilkes’s connexion with Junius were not quite so close and intimate as that of Mr. S. W. Woodfall, this circumstance is more than counterbalanced by leaving him free from that bias in favour of Junius which appears in some degree to have warped and influenced the judgment of Mr. George Woodfall, whose father was so completely mixed up, and as it were, identified, with Junius and his secret. This bias is

* Dr. Good, in a letter addressed to Mr. E. H. Barker, a few weeks before his death, observes, “The question is one of great interest, as well on the score of national history as of literary curiosity, yet, like many other desiderata, *I am afraid it is likely to lie beyond the fathoming of any line and plummet that will be applied to it in our day.*” And Mr. Butler concludes a letter to the same gentleman, dated June 14, 1828, in these words: “I am sorry I cannot communicate to you any information of importance on the subject in which you take so great an interest. I have only to add, that *it appears to me to be involved in as great obscurity as ever.*”

plainly discernible in Mr. Woodfall's publication; and shews itself by an anxious endeavour on all occasions to exalt the character of Junius; whose patriotism, honour, and other excellent moral qualities, are held up to admiration in a way which is not warranted by a fair and candid interpretation of his letters and conduct.

Although we admit that no suspicion can be entertained of the accuracy of any of Mr. G. Woodfall's statements respecting his father's transactions with Junius, we must confess, that considerable misgivings have at times come over us, as to whether his publication discloses the *whole truth* relating to his father's mysterious correspondent. The late Dr. Parr also entertained a similar suspicion, for in a letter written by him and published in Mr. Barker's book (p. 243), the Doctor observes that "the supposed author of Junius would venture upon falsehood, and Woodfall, knowing the importance of such disavowal, would record, although he disbelieved it. Woodfall stated a fact, and left his readers to their own conclusion; *and it was the wish, if not the duty of Woodfall, to keep us in the dark.*"

Mr. Cumberland heard that Mr. Woodfall was deeply guaranteed, from which circumstance he fairly inferred that, "although he might not know his author, he must have known whereabouts to look for him." The truth of the guarantee seems now admitted; and we may be certain that Junius faithfully performed the promise made to Mr. S. H. Woodfall, "that in point of money, be assured you shall never suffer," from the very high testimony borne in the "Preliminary Essay" to the honour and liberality of Junius; for such an acknow-

ledgment would not have been made, unless the son had been perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Junius towards his father. On this subject, Dr. Good thus expresses himself: "Of his (Junius) personal and private honour, however, we can only judge from his connexion with Mr. Woodfall, yet this connexion is *perhaps sufficient*; through the whole of it, he appears in a light truly ingenuous and liberal." We must however beg leave to demur to this summary mode of proving the honour and liberality of such a character; for the instance given, may more properly be regarded as a solitary exception to a general rule. Indeed, much consideration of the subject is not necessary, to convince any disinterested and impartial individual that little merit can be conceded to Junius for his liberality to his printer, who was placed in the front of the battle, to answer and suffer for the licentious effusions of his author. Besides, there can be little doubt, that the fate of this celebrated writer was in Mr. Woodfall's hands, who might on various occasions during the correspondence, have traced and delivered up Junius to his enraged enemies; and it was to his honourable forbearance alone that Junius owed his safety. Mr. Woodfall may therefore be considered the armour-bearer of the mysterious Knight, whose office it was to cover him in the day of battle with the shield of invisibility, while his own person was left exposed to all the darts of the enemy; and Junius must have been a recreant Knight indeed, if he had not requited such valuable services by pouring balm into the wounds of his champion, and supplying him liberally with the sinews of war.

From all these circumstances, it seems hardly credible

that Mr. G. Woodfall should not have been able to point out more precisely than he has done, "whereabouts to look for his author." Perhaps he considered himself bound in honour not to disclose the secret of a man, from whom his family had experienced nothing but liberal and honourable treatment, and therefore, while he published most of the private letters, and related many particulars highly curious and interesting respecting Junius, he might not deem it prudent to furnish the public with a test, which, if applied to his hero, would have been attended with consequences similar to those experienced by another celebrated personage, whom

————— Ithuriel with his spear
Touched lightly—for no falsehood can indure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns,
Of force to its own likeness. Up he starts,
Discovered and surprised.

JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS.

Nameless the libeller lived, and shot his arrows in darkness;
Undetected he passed to the grave; and leaving behind him
Noxious works on earth, and the pest of an evil example,
Went to the world beyond, where no offences are hidden.

Southey.

Without meaning an indecent comparison, I may venture to
fortel that the Bible and Junius will be read, when the Commen-
taries of the Jesuits are forgotten.

Junius.

I shall now be told "Sir, what you say is plausible enough;
but still you must allow that it is shamefully impudent in Junius
to tell us that his works will live as long as the Bible." My
answer is agreed; but first prove that he has said so. Look at
his words, and you will find that the utmost he expects is, that
the Bible and Junius will survive the Commentaries of the Jesuits,
which may prove true in a fortnight. The most malignant
sagacity cannot shew that his works are, in his opinion, to live as
long as the Bible. Suppose I were to fortel that Jack and Tom
would survive Harry, does it follow that Jack must live as long
as Tom?

Philo Junius.

CHAPTER II.

Proofs that Junius was neither a Lawyer, a Divine, nor an Author, by profession. — Mr. Woodfall's account of the Letters written by Junius, under the signatures of Mnemon, Atticus, Lucius, Junius, and Brutus.—The author's first Letter under the signature of *Junius*.—Woodfall's account of the mode of his Correspondence with Junius.—Two spurious editions of the Letters published.—Woodfall's proposal to publish a genuine edition.—Assented to by the author.—Curious private Correspondence between Junius and Woodfall, about bringing out the genuine edition.—Wilkes revises the dedication and preface.—Junius orders the famous vellum-bound and gilt copy of the Letters.—His alarm at the price of the book.—Assigns his copyright to Woodfall.—Proof that the Letters were composed by only one person.—Junius's mode of composing and finishing his Letters.—His own opinion of his labours.—His farewell Letter to Woodfall.—The number of his communications with Woodfall.—Junius's confidential Correspondence with Wilkes.—Various opinions respecting the handwriting of the Letters of Junius, and whether he employed an amanuensis or not.—Discussion as to what has become of the autographs of Junius's public letters.—Proofs that Junius resided constantly in London, or its vicinity.—That he was an Englishman.—Argument to prove that he must have been a tall man.—Proofs that he was a man of high rank and independent fortune, and a Member of the House of Commons.—That he was a Christian, and a member of the Church of England.—That he was of mature age.—Mr. Jackson's account of the person of Junius.—Lord Byron's description of the Shade of Junius.

JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS.

I was not born to be a commentator, even of my own works. I speak to facts, with which all of us are conversant.—I speak to men and to their experience, and will not descend to answer the little sneering sophistries of a Collegian.

Junius.

IN order to clear the way for investigating the identity of the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, we purpose in the first instance to prove, that he could not have been either a lawyer, a divine, or an author, by profession; for although it is seldom requisite in legal proceedings to adduce evidence to establish a negative, this course may sometimes be expedient in such disquisitions as the present, as we thereby *exclude whole classes*, and render unnecessary the trouble of examining the claims of a host of pretenders belonging to those professions. The last head of the inquiry will also afford an opportunity of presenting the reader with a succinct, but we trust a clear and satisfactory account of all that is known respecting JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS.

Having now entered on that part of the inquiry when it becomes necessary to consider and decide on the degree of credit due to the assertions of JUNIUS respecting himself, we have to remark, that whatever judgment may be formed about his moral character, there can be no doubt that *his intellect was of too high an order* to permit

him to descend to the meanness of advancing *unnecessary and gratuitous falsehoods*; and consequently, that the information incidentally furnished by his letters respecting himself, may generally be regarded as true, except only where his secret is concerned.

Mr. Butler, who was himself a very eminent lawyer, came to the conclusion that Junius could not have been a *profound lawyer*, from the gross inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions, and instances that passage in his Dedication, where he says, "the power of king, lords, and commons, is not an arbitrary power; they are the trustees, not the owners of the estate; the fee-simple is in us." Now, says Mr. Butler, in all trusts of inheritance, the fee-simple is in the trustees. The fact however of his not being a lawyer is placed beyond all doubt by the express disclaimers of Junius himself, and the way in which he speaks of lawyers in general. In the preface to his Letters, he says: "I am *no lawyer by profession*, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be, in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law."

Again, "As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me, upon a plain constitutional question."

In one of his private letters to Mr. Wilkes, he says, "Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer. *I had as lief be a*

Scotchman." These extracts, and particularly the last, will surely satisfy the most sceptical mind, that Junius was no lawyer.

It is equally clear that no divine would ever speak of the priesthood in the terms applied by Junius to Mr. Horne, or indulge in such allusions to the Scriptures and religious rites as are to be found in his Letters; which cannot always be successfully defended against the imputation of levity, if they be not open to the more grave charge of profaneness. Take the following instances,—speaking of the Rev. J. Horne, in a letter to the Duke of Grafton, Junius says: "Now let him go back to his cloister. The church is a proper retreat for him; in his principles he is already a bishop."—Letter dated 9th July 1771.

And in a letter to Mr. Horne himself, "The resentment of a priest is implacable; no sufferings can soften, no penitence can appease him."—15th August 1771.

In a private letter to Mr. Wilkes, he again alludes to Mr. Horne in these terms,—“I too am no enemy to good fellowship, and have *often cursed that canting parson* for wishing to deny you your claret. It is for him, and men like him, to beware of intoxication.”—18th Sept. 1771.

Ample evidence we think has now been produced, to prove that no clergyman could possibly have had any hand in the composition of the Letters of Junius.

That Junius was *not an author by profession*, was the opinion of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Butler, from the visible improvement which from time to time was discernible in his style, and the numerous errors of grammar and construction which may be discovered in the Letters, and which would not have appeared in the works of a

person of Junius's exquisite taste and discernment, if he had been accustomed to literary composition. On this subject, Mr. E. H. Barker remarks, that "Mr. Butler must be allowed to be a most competent judge as to the facts whether Junius was or was not 'an author by profession,' and whether his style did or did not from time to time manifest symptoms of improvement. I admit both the facts on his authority," p. 120.

Mr. Barker offers the following additional reasons in corroboration of Mr. Butler's views:—"A writer in the habit of publishing pamphlets or books, either with his name or without it, though accompanied by intimations which made the addition of the name unnecessary, either is not likely to have been the author of Junius, or would long ago have been discovered as the author; because every pamphlet or book would furnish an additional clue to a discovery in one way or other, and the author would feel conscious that the dangerous discovery might be made. Hence the great probability is that the real Junius was not an author by profession," p. 35.

Atticus Secundus also remarks, that "Junius has been frequently reproached with inaccuracy in the use of moods; and notices the following as one of the most remarkable of his mistakes: 'I will not assert that government would have recovered its dignity, but at least our gracious sovereign *must* have spared his subjects this last insult.' Those who delight in discovering spots on the sun, and in detecting the little slips and blemishes of genius, may further consult "Chambers' Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers," where they will find other inaccuracies of this great writer pointed out, and commented on in no friendly

spirit; but taking no pleasure in such expositions, we rather feel disposed to apply to Junius Dr. Johnson's eulogy on Milton:—"As in displaying the excellence of Junius, we have not made long quotations, because of selecting beauties there had been no end; I shall in the same general manner mention that which seems to deserve censure; for what Englishman can take delight in transcribing passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Junius, diminish in some degree the honour of our country." "Junius," observes Mr. Barker, p. 96, "gives us the notion of a writer not early trained to habits of composition, nor much accustomed to deliver his opinions in public through the press. The understanding of Junius belonged to the highest order of intellect, but it had not been well and constantly exercised by free discussions, in the intimacy of social life, with kindred spirits, and therefore it was not capable of exerting its fullest powers." Hence it is highly probable that the principal, if not the whole of the literary labours of Junius are comprised in Mr. Woodfall's three volumes; for in one of his private letters to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, he says, "my own Works you shall constantly have;" and in another, "I believe I need not assure you that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours;" again, "I sometimes change my signature, but could have no reason to change the paper, especially for one that does not circulate half so much as yours." And in a letter to the printer of D. A. (August 15th, 1771) Junius says, "Mr. Horne asserts that he has traced me through a variety of signatures. To make the discovery of any importance to his purpose, he should have proved either that the fictitious character of *Junius* has not been

consistently supported, or that the author has maintained different opinions and principles under different signatures. I cannot recall to my memory the numberless trifles I have written; but I rely upon the consciousness of my own integrity, and defy him to fix any colourable charge of inconsistency upon me."

"It was on the 28th of April in the year 1767," says Mr. Woodfall's Editor, "that the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall received, amongst other letters from a great number of correspondents for the use of the Public Advertiser, of which he was a proprietor, the first public address of this celebrated writer. He had not then assumed the name, or rather written under the signature of Junius, nor did he always, indeed, assume a signature of any kind. When he did so, his signatures were diversified, and the chief of them are Mnemon, Atticus, Lucius, Junius, and Brutus; under the first he sarcastically opposed the ministry upon the subject of the Nullum Tempus Bill."

The letters signed Atticus and Brutus relate chiefly to the growing disputes with the American Colonies; and those subscribed Lucius exclusively to the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his post of Governor of Virginia, for the sole purpose, as it should seem, of creating a post for the Earl of Hillsborough's intimate friend, Lord Botetourt, who had completely ruined himself by gambling and extravagance. From the ardour with which Junius entered the lists in defence of Sir Jeffery, and the intimate knowledge he displayed of his services and character, there can be little doubt that he entertained a strong *personal friendship* for the veteran hero. His first letter on the subject addressed to Lord Hillsborough, minister

for the American department, is dated August 10, 1768. A vindication, or rather an apology, was entered into by three or four correspondents under different signatures, who were regarded by Junius, and indeed by the public at large, as the Earl of Hillsborough himself, or some writer under his immediate control. Lucius followed up the contest with spirit, the minister became ashamed of his conduct, and Sir Jeffery, within a few weeks after his dismissal and the resignation of two regiments which he commanded, was restored to the command of one of them, and appointed to that of another, and thus in a remarkable manner fulfilled the prophecy of Lucius in his last letter to Lord Hillsborough (20th Sept. 1768); "You have sent Sir Jeffery Amherst to the plough, you have left him poor in every article of which a false fawning minister could deprive him; but you have left him rich in the esteem, the love, and veneration of his country. You cannot now recal him by any offer of wealth or honours; yet I fortel that a time will come when you yourself will be the cause of his return; proceed my Lord as you have begun, and you will soon reduce this country to an extremity in which the wisest and best subjects *must* be called upon and must be employed; till then, enjoy your triumph."

In a letter of Atticus, dated 14th November 1768, the reinstatement of Sir Jeffery is alluded to in the following terms:—"When an ungracious act was to be done, the Earl of Hillsborough was chosen for the instrument of it. He deserved since he submitted, to bear the whole reproach of Sir Jeffery Amherst's dismissal. The gallant Knight obtained his price; and the noble Earl, with whatever appetite, must meet him, with a smile

of congratulation, and *dear Sir Jeffery I most cordially wish you joy!* After all it must be confessed, there are some mortifications which might touch even the callous spirit of a courtier."

As further proof of Junius's friendship for Sir Jeffery, and the great interest he took in his concerns, it may be noticed that in his letter of 7th February, 1769, to Sir William Draper, he makes the following charge against Lord Granby, the Commander in Chief:—"As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service?"

The attention paid to the philippics against Lord Hillsborough, and the celebrity they had acquired, stimulated the author to new and additional exertions; and having in the beginning of the ensuing year (1769), completed another letter, with more than usual elaboration and polish, which he seemed to have intended as a kind of introductory address to the nation at large, he sent it forth under the name of *Junius* (a name he had hitherto assumed but once) to the office of the Public Advertiser, in which journal it appeared on Saturday, January 21st, 1769. The popularity expected by the author from this performance was more than accomplished; and what in some measure added to his fame, was a reply (for the Public Advertiser was equally open to all parties) from a real character of no small celebrity, Sir William Draper—principally because the attack upon his Majesty's ministers had extended itself to Lord Granby, at that time Commander in Chief, for whom Sir William Draper

professed the most cordial esteem and friendship. From the extraordinary effect produced by the author's first letter under the signature of Junius, he resolved to adhere to it exclusively in all his subsequent letters with which he took more than ordinary pains, and which alone he was desirous of having attributed to himself; while to other letters, composed with less care and merely explanatory of passages in his more finished addresses, or introduced for some collateral purpose, he subscribed some random name that occurred to him at the moment. The letters of *Philo Junius* are alone an exception to this remark. "The auxiliary part of *Philo Junius*," *Junius* tells us in his preface, "was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in *Junius*, in answer to plausible objections, but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it."

The following is Mr. Woodfall's account of the manner in which the correspondence was conducted.

A common name, such as was by no means likely to excite any peculiar attention, was first chosen by Junius, and a common place of deposit indicated. The parcels from Junius himself were sent direct to the printing office; and whenever a parcel, or a letter in return, was waiting for him, it was announced in the Notices to Correspondents, by such signals as "N. E. C.; a letter;" "Vindex shall be considered;" "C. in the usual place;" "an Old Correspondent shall be attended to." The introductory C. being a little varied from that commonly used, or by a line of Latin poetry. "Don't always use," says our author, "the same signal; any absurd Latin verse,

will answer the purpose. And when the answer implied a mere negative or affirmative, it was communicated in the newspaper, by a simple "yes" or "no." The names of address more commonly assumed, were Mr. William Middleton, or Mr. John Fretly; and the more common places of address were the bar of the Somerset Coffee-house of the New Exchange, or Munday's in Maiden Lane, the waiters of which were occasionally fee'd for their punctuality. But these were varied for other names and places, as circumstances might dictate.

By what conveyance Junius obtained his letters and parcels from the places at which they were left for him, is not very clearly ascertained. It is said that nothing could be more various than the delivery of the letters from Junius; *sometimes they came by the post, but in a general way by porters.*

In consequence of two spurious editions of the Letters having been published by printers, named Wheble and Newberry, Mr. Woodfall made application to Junius for leave to reprint his Letters collectively, and subject to his own revisal. It was these spurious republications that induced Sir William Draper to renew his contest with Junius, and the latter in answer tells Sir William (September 25, 1769), "You cannot but know that the republication of my Letters was no more than a catch-penny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impossible I should be concerned, and for which I am in no way answerable. At the same time I wish you to understand, that if I do not take the trouble of reprinting these papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper."

Woodfall's proposal was not only readily assented to

by Junius, but he shewed much anxiety to have the genuine edition printed with care and accuracy; and his directions on this head to Mr. Woodfall will be found very minute and particular, and furnish us with much curious information respecting the composition of the Letters and the literary habits of their author. The first two sheets of the work only were revised by the author, the rest of the Letters were from the difficulty of conveyance entrusted to the correction of Mr. Woodfall, and the dedication and preface were confided to the care of Mr. Wilkes. In preparing this edition for the press, instead of closing the regular series of letters possessing the signature of Junius with that dated October 5, 1771, upon the subject of "the unhappy differences," as he calls them, "which *had* arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other;" he added five others, which the events of the day had impelled him to write, during the reprinting of the Letters, notwithstanding the intention he had expressed of offering nothing further under this signature. And instead of introducing the explanatory letters written under other signatures, he confined himself, in order that the work might be published before the ensuing session of Parliament, to three justificatory papers: the first, under the title of "A Friend of Junius," containing an answer to "A Barrister at Law;" the second, an anonymous declaration upon certain points on which his opinion had been mistaken or misrepresented; and the third, an extract from a letter to Mr. Wilkes, drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the Bill of Rights Society, and vindicating himself from the charge of having written in favour of long parliaments and rotten boroughs.

Junius's answer to Mr. Woodfall's proposal is in the following words:—"I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting my Letters, if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable), and perhaps a preface." (July 21, 1769). In reply to Woodfall's next letter on the subject of the publication, he says: "Do with my Letters exactly what you please. I should think that to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out a hint, that you have reason to suspect that they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I would recommend; for you know I do not, nor indeed have I time, to give equal care to them all." (August 16, 1769).

In another letter, dated November 8, 1771, Junius thus announces the termination of his labours:—"At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you with no small labour. I would have you begin to advertise immediately, and publish before the meeting of Parliament. Let all my papers in defence of Junius be inserted. I shall now supply you very fast with copy and notes. The paper and type should at least be as good as Wheble's. You must correct the press *yourself*, but I should be glad to see corrected proofs of the two first sheets. *Shew the dedication and preface to Mr. Wilkes*, and if he has any *material* objection let me know: I say *material*, because of the difficulty of getting your letter." Again on the 10th of the same month he writes: "I think the second page, with the widest lines, looks best; what is your essential reason for the change? I send

you some more sheets. I think the paper is not so good as Wheble's, but I may be mistaken: the type is good. Prevail upon Mr. Wilkes to let you have extracts of my second and third letters to him; it will make the book still more new. I would see them before they are printed, but keep this last to yourself." On the 5th December following, he gives these directions: "These papers are all in their exact order; take great care to keep them so. In a few days more I shall have sent you all the copy; you must then take care of it yourself, except that I must see proof-sheets of the dedication and preface, and these, if at all, I must see before the end of the week. You shall have the extract to go into the second volume; it will be a short one. When you send the above mentioned proof-sheets, *return my own copy with them.*" On the 10th December he writes thus: "The inclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done *my* part, take care *you* do yours. There are still two letters wanting, which *I expect you will not fail* to insert in their places. One is from Philo Junius to Scœvola, about Lord Camden; the other to a Friend of the People, about pressing. They must be in the course of October. I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the dedication and preface may be correct. Look to it. If you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive you suffering it to be spoiled. *I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.*" The following passage, in a letter of the 17th December, contains Junius's directions for the splendid set of the work, bound in vellum and gilt, that has excited so much speculation; and the production of which has been anxiously looked

for, to decide and set at rest for ever the much-agitated question of the authorship of the Letters. "When the book is finished let me have a set, bound in vellum, gilt and lettered, 'Junius I. II.' as handsomely as you can, the edges gilt; let the sheets be well dried before binding. I must have two sets in blue paper covers. This is all the fee I shall ever desire of you. I think you ought not to publish before the second week in January."

The ensuing private letters of Junius to Mr. Woodfall, exhibit considerable uneasiness and surprise at the delay in the publication, and he sometimes expresses himself in rather peevish and querulous terms towards his worthy publisher. In a letter of the 18th January, 1772, he says: "I am truly concerned to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed. It ought to have appeared before the meeting of Parliament. By no means would I have you insert this long letter, if it made more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me, the delay is a real injury to the cause." And in another letter of the 3rd February he writes: "I confess I do not see the use of the table of contents. I think it will be endless, and answer no purpose. An index of proper names and materials would in my opinion be sufficient. You may safely defy the malice of Wheble; whoever buys such a book, will naturally prefer the author's edition, and I think it will always be a book for sale. I really am in no hurry about that set." But on 'Monday night, February 17, 1772,' he seems to have lost all patience, and sends this scolding epistle to Mr. Woodfall: "Surely you have misjudged it very much, about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long. At this

time particularly, before Mr. Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation. At a certain point of time the appetite palls. I fear you have already lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it. But I have done." Mr. Woodfall however appears to have satisfied his testy correspondent that the fault was not with him; for on the 22d February Junius sends him the following handsome apology:—"I do you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient you propose of printing the dedication and preface in the Public Advertiser, is unadvisable; the attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. I think your rivals will be disappointed. Nobody will apply to them, when they can be supplied at the fountain head." In his next letter, of the 29th February, Junius desires Mr. Woodfall to return his thanks to Mr. Wilkes, for the trouble he had taken in perusing and revising the dedication and preface, and expresses a wish that he had taken more. But again becoming impatient at the still protracted period of publication, he writes to Mr. Woodfall, on the 3rd March, in these words: "Your letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it. I am impatient to see the book, and think I had a right to that attention a little before the general publication. When I desired to have two sets sewed, and one bound in vellum, it was not from a principle of economy; I despise such little savings, and shall still be a purchaser. *If I was to buy as many sets as I want, it would be remarked.* Pray let the two sets be well parcelled up, and left at the bar of

Munday's Coffee-house, Maiden Lane, with the same direction, and with orders to be delivered to a chairman who will ask for them in the course of to-morrow evening. Farewell."

At last his ardent desires were gratified; for on the 5th March he thus acknowledges the receipt of the books: "Your letters, with the books, are come safe to hand. The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation and necessity, to which we must submit. Be assured I will not give you more trouble than is unavoidable. If the vellum books are not yet bound, I would wait for the index. If they are, let me know by a line in the P. A. When they are ready, they may safely be left at the same place as last night. On *your* account I am alarmed at the price of the book. I am no judge, and can only pray for your success. What you say about the profit is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that *I am far above all pecuniary views*; and no other person I think has any claim to share with you; make the most of it, therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence. Without it no man can be happy, nor even honest."

The latter part of the letter alludes to an offer of half the profits of the book, which Mr. Woodfall had made to Junius; and from the manner in which the latter declined any participation in the profits of the work, it is clear that he must at least have been a person in easy, if not in affluent, circumstances.

The surprise expressed by Junius at the price of the book is another strong proof of his not being an author by profession, affording as it does decisive evidence that

he was a complete novice in the mystery of book-making, and that he could not have had any previous dealings with the trade.

The motives of the author for publishing this edition of his Letters, and the assignment of the copyright to Mr. Woodfall, are stated in the preface in these words: "The encouragement given to a multitude of spurious mangled publications of the Letters of Junius, persuades me that a complete edition, corrected and improved by the author, will be favourably received. The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit. I undertake this troublesome task merely to serve a man who has deserved well of me and of the public, and who, on my account, has been exposed to an expensive tyrannical prosecution. For these reasons I give to Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, and to him alone, my right, interest and property in these Letters, as fully and completely, to all intents and purposes, as an author can possibly convey his property in his own works to another."

We have seen that Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Butler thought the Letters were composed by one person only; and this opinion appears to be borne out by the following extracts from the private letters of Junius to Mr. Wilkes, in which he details, in a manner so characteristic and natural as to bear decisive marks of truth and sincerity, how he groped about for information—

"And through the palpable obscure found out
His uncouth way."—————

(18th September 1771.) "The constitutional argument is obvious. I wish you to point out to me where you think the force of the *formal legal* argument lies. In pursuing such inquiries, I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not

venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect everything from books or common conversation. The pains I took with that paper upon Privilege, were greater than I can express to you. Yet after I had blinded myself with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history, I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion, which I am now convinced is true, as I really then thought it, because it has not been disproved or disputed." And in another letter, of the 6th November 1771, he expresses himself thus: "Besides the fallibility natural to us all, no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned; I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintances; and in the newspapers I never am assisted. Those who are conversant with books well know how often they mislead us, when we have not a living monitor at hand to assist us in comparing practice with theory."

In the anonymous declaration (2d November 1771), first published by Junius in the genuine edition, he says: "It has been urged as a reproach to Junius, that he has not delivered an opinion upon the Game Laws, and particularly the late Dog Act. But Junius thinks he has much greater reason to complain, that he is never assisted by those who are able to assist him, and that almost the whole labour of the press is thrown upon a single hand, from which a discussion of every public question whatsoever is unreasonably expected. He is not paid for his labour, and certainly has a right to choose his employment."

Junius appears to have compared and finished his Letters with the most assiduous labour and care. "I weigh," says he, "every word; and every alteration, in

my eyes at least, is a blemish." His own opinion of some of his letters may be collected from the following extracts. Of the letter of the 8th October 1769, to the Printer of the P. A., he says: "I wish the inclosed to be announced to-morrow conspicuously, for Tuesday; I am not capable of writing anything more finished." And of the letter to Lord Mansfield, dated the 14th November 1770, he remarks: "The inclosed, though begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured. *It is very correctly copied*;* and I beg you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands." Of the letter to the Duke of Grafton (22d January 1771), he says: "I am strangely partial to the inclosed. It is finished with the utmost care. If I find myself mistaken in my judgment of this purpose, I positively will never write again." The letter of the 30th September 1771, addressed to the Livery of London, he declares—"Is of such importance—so very material—that it must be given to the public immediately."

Junius seems to have been quite shocked at the numerous blunders by which the spurious editions of his Letters were deformed; for upon receiving a copy of Newberry's book, he addressed a note to Woodfall, begging him to hint to Newberry, that as he had thought proper to reprint his Letters, he ought at least to have taken care to have corrected the errata; adding at the same time, "I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper; but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive."

During the whole period that Junius wrote in the Public Advertiser he was exceedingly anxious to repu-

* This seems to imply that he employed an amanuensis.

diate and disclaim all such letters as he had not actually written, but which might possibly be mistaken by the public for his compositions. Thus in a letter to Mr. Woodfall, of the 16th November 1769, he says: "As I do not choose to answer for anybody's sins but my own, I must desire you to say to-morrow, we can assure the public that the letter signed A. B., relative to the Duke of Rutland, is not written by the author of Junius." Again, on the 19th October 1770, he observes: "By your affected silence you encourage an idle opinion that I am the author of 'The Whig,' though you very well know the contrary. I neither admire the writer nor his idol. I hope you will set this matter right." This idol was the Earl of Chatham; and Junius himself shortly afterwards became one of his worshippers.

So early as July 12, 1769, Mr. Woodfall tells us that Junius began to entertain thoughts of dropping a character and signature which must have cost him great labour, and not unfrequently exposed him to peril: "I really doubt," says he, "whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me with even the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration."

The last political letter issued under the signature of Junius was addressed to Lord Camden, and possessed the peculiarity of being the only encomiastic letter that ever fell from the pen of Junius. It followed the publication of his long letter addressed to Lord Mansfield upon the illegal bailing of Eyre, and both letters were published on the 21st January 1772. It appears from

the correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, recently published (iv. 190), that Junius forwarded proof sheets* of these two letters to his Lordship, accompanied by the following remarkable letter:

(*Most secret.*)

MY LORD,

London, 14th Jan. 1772.

CONFIDING implicitly on your Lordship's honour, I take the liberty of submitting to you the inclosed paper, before it be given to the public. It is to appear on the morning of the meeting of Parliament. Lord Mansfield flatters himself, that I have dropped all thoughts of attacking him; and I would give him as little time as possible to concert his measures with the Ministry. The address to Lord Camden will be accounted for, when I say, that the nation in general are not quite so secure of *his* firmness as they are of Lord Chatham's.

I am so clearly satisfied that Lord Mansfield has done an act not warranted by law, and that the inclosed argument is not to be answered (besides that I find the lawyers concur with me), that I am inclined to expect he may himself acknowledge it as an oversight, and endeavour to whittle it away to nothing. For this possible event, I would wish your Lordship and the Duke of Richmond, to be prepared to take down his words, and thereupon to move for committing him to the Tower. I hope that proper steps will also be taken in the House of Commons. If he makes no confession of his guilt, but attempts to defend himself by any legal argument, I then submit it to your Lordship, whether it might not be proper to put the following questions to the Judges. In fact they answer themselves; but it will embarrass the Ministry,

* This explains the following enigmatical passage in Junius's private letter to Woodfall (January 11, 1772): "Your failing to send me the proofs, as you engaged to do, disappoints and distresses me extremely. It is not merely to correct the press (though even that is of consequence), but for *another most material purpose*. This will be entirely defeated if you do not let me have the two proofs on Monday morning."

and ruin the character which Mansfield pretends to, if the House should put a direct negative upon the motion.

1st. Whether, according to the true meaning and intendment of the laws of England relative to bail for criminal offences, a person positively charged with felony—taken *in flagranti delicto*—with the *maincœuvre*, and not making any defence, nor offering any evidence to induce a doubt whether he be guilty or innocent,—is *bailable* or *not bailable*?

2d. Whether the power, exercised by the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, of bailing for offences, not bailable by a justice of peace, be an absolute power of mere will and pleasure in the Judge, or a discretionary power, regulated and governed, in the application of it, by the true meaning and intendment of the law relative to bail?

Lord Mansfield's constant endeavour to misinterpret the laws of England is a sufficient general ground of impeachment. The specific instances may be taken from his doctrine concerning libels;—the Grosvenor cause;—his pleading Mr. De Grey's defence upon the Bench, when he said, "*Idem fecerunt alii, et multi et boni*;"—his suffering an affidavit to be read, in "The King against Blair," tending to inflame the Court against the defendant when he was brought up to receive sentence;—his direction to the jury in the cause of Ansell, by which he admitted parol evidence against a written agreement, and in consequence of which the Court of Common Pleas granted a new trial; and lastly, his partial and wicked motives for bailing Eyre. There are some material circumstances relating to this last, which I thought it right to reserve for your Lordship alone.

It will appear by the evidence of the Gaoler and the City Solicitor's clerk, that Lord Mansfield refused to hear the return read, and at first ordered Eyre to be bound only in 200*l.*, with two sureties, until his clerk, Mr. Platt, proposed 300*l.*, with three sureties. Mr. King, clerk to the City Solicitor, was never asked for his consent, nor did he ever give any. From these facts I conclude, either that he bailed without knowing the cause of commitment, or, which is highly probable, that he knew it extra-

judicially from the Scotchmen, and was ashamed to have the return read.

I will not presume to trouble your Lordship with any assurances, however sincere, of my respect and esteem for your character, and admiration of your abilities. Retired and unknown, I live in the shade, and have only a speculative ambition. In the warmth of my imagination, I sometimes conceive, that, when Junius exerts his utmost faculties in the service of his country, he approaches in theory to that exalted character which Lord Chatham alone fills up, and uniformly supports in action.

JUNIUS.

Another letter, under the signature of Nemesis, appeared on the 12th May 1772, which was the last of all the public letters written by Junius.

The farewell letter of Junius to Mr. Woodfall bears date 19th January 1773, and is in the following words :

“I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent: be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle, that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant, the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible. *You have never flinched, that I know of*, and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity. If you have anything to communicate (of moment to yourself), you may use the last address, and give a hint.”

“The private and confidential letters addressed to the late Mr. Woodfall (says Dr. Good), are now for the first time made public by his son, who is in the possession of the author’s autographs; and from the various facts and anecdotes they disclose, not only in relation to this extraordinary character, but to other characters as well,

they cannot fail of being highly interesting to the political world. To have published these Letters at an earlier period, would have been a gross breach of trust and decorum. It is no objection to their being genuine, that they were omitted by Junius in his own edition, published by Mr. Woodfall; there is a material difference between publishing a complete edition of the Letters of Junius, and a complete edition of the Letters of the Writer of that name. The first was the main object of Junius himself."

Between January 21st, and May 12th, 1772, it appears that Junius wrote eleven *private letters* to Mr. Woodfall. After that date, it is not known that he ever wrote to him more than once, viz. January 19th, 1773, after a silence of more than eight months. If any letters passed between them afterwards, all traces of the correspondence are lost. His letters signed Junius, took up exactly a period of three years. All his *public letters*, under this and other signatures, somewhat more than five years. During the whole of this period he kept up with his printer a correspondence so "frequent and full," as to prove the greatest stumbling-block to every conjecture that has hitherto been formed of the author. The table given in the Preliminary Essay shews that in the course of the year 1769, the author maintained not less than fifty-four communications with Mr. Woodfall; that not a single month passed without one or more acts of intercourse; that some of them had not less than seven, many of them not less than six—at times directed to events that had occurred only a few days antecedently; that the two most distant communications were not more than three weeks apart; that several of them were daily, and the greater part of them not more than a week from each other.

When we consider the rapidity with which Junius produced his Letters, and the marks of elaboration and high finish which they bear; it may be doubted whether his carefully drawn portraits, and brilliant metaphors, were really composed within the short periods that intervened between the publication of his respective letters. Every man engaged in literary pursuits will admit the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of attaining by any continuous mental effort that high degree of condensation and polish which the writings of Junius exhibit. It is only by retouching at long intervals, when the subject is in a manner forgotten and presents itself in a new aspect, that the eye of taste detects those minute inaccuracies and blemishes, which escape observation in the first glow of composition.

It is therefore not improbable that Junius resorted to some such method as that used by Butler, of whom Dr. Johnson says, "I am informed by Mr. Thyer, of Manchester, that he could shew something like *Hudibras* in prose. He has in his possession the common-place book in which Butler deposited, not such events and precepts as are gathered by reading, but such remarks, similitudes, allusions, assemblages or inferences, as occasion prompted or meditation produced; those thoughts that were generated in his own mind, and might be usefully applied to some future purpose. Such is the labour of those who write for immortality!"

Both Mr. Butler and Dr. Good, we have seen, came to the conclusion that Junius must have resided almost constantly in London during the time the Letters were written, from January 1769 to January 1772. "Junius," observes Dr. Good, "had no time for remote excursions,

nor often for relaxation, even in the vicinity of the Metropolis itself. Yet from his private letters, we could almost collect a journal of his absences, if not an itinerary of his little tours: for he does not appear to have left London at any time without some notice to the printer, either of his intention, or of the fact itself upon his return home; independently of which, the frequency and regularity of his correspondence seldom allowed of distant travel—‘I have been out of town,’ says he, in his letter of November 8th, 1769, ‘*for three weeks*, and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it;’ on another occasion, ‘I have been *some days* in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night.’ And again, ‘I want rest severely, and am going to find it in the country for a few days.’”

In the year 1771, Junius opened his private and confidential correspondence with Mr. Wilkes, who was then one of the sheriffs of London, and at the height of his popularity.

Wilkes records the receipt of Junius’s first letter by the following indorsement:—“August 21st, 1771—Received on Wednesday noon by a chairman, who said he brought it from a gentleman whom he saw in Lancaster Court in the Strand.”

This letter is wholly on the subject of appointing Alderman Sawbridge, Lord Mayor, out of the regular succession, and Wilkes’s influence being at that time paramount in the city, Junius wished him to support Sawbridge’s election. In reply, Wilkes explains his reasons for not acceding to Junius’s wishes, and candidly states that he thought Junius entertained too favourable an opinion of the Alderman. It has been remarked, that

Junius must have had some *private motive* for taking such an extraordinary interest in the success of Alderman Sawbridge, and that his friendship for this gentleman is apparent in many other instances. Junius was by no means pleased with Wilkes's answer, and evinced symptoms of extreme mortification when he found that Mr. Nash had triumphed over Sawbridge. "What an abandoned, prostituted idiot," he writes to Woodfall, "is your Lord Mayor. The *shameful mismanagement* which brought him into office, gave me the first, and an unconquerable, disgust."

We should however mention, that before Wilkes answered Junius's first communication, he received another long epistle from the prolific pen of his invisible correspondent, dated 7th September 1771, respecting the proceedings of the Bill of Rights Society. Wilkes acknowledged the receipt of both letters by the following advertisement in the Public Advertiser:—

Prince's Court, Monday, September 9th.

Mr. Wilkes has the honour of receiving from the same gentleman two excellent letters on important subjects; one dated August 21, the other September 7.

He begs the favour of the author to prescribe the mode of Mr. Wilkes's communicating his answer.

To this advertisement Wilkes received the following answer by the penny post:—

10 September, 1771.

You may entrust Woodfall with a letter for me. Leave the rest to his management.

I expect that you will not enter into any explanations with him whatever.

Several other letters afterwards passed between the parties, principally on the events and politics of the day, in which the most exalted characters, and even that of Majesty itself, are canvassed with the utmost freedom. The letters of Wilkes display much vivacity and spirit, while Junius seldom descends from the dignity of his assumed character; and he often takes the liberty of lecturing Wilkes pretty freely on his conduct. In one of his letters, which Wilkes has marked as received September 23, 1771, Junius says,—“In my opinion, you should not wish to decline the appearance of being particularly addressed in that letter [alluding to one of his former letters]. It is calculated to give you *dignity* with the public. There is more in it than perhaps you are aware of. Depend upon it, the perpetual union of *Wilkes* and *Mob* does you no service: not but that I love and esteem the mob. It is your interest to keep up dignity and gravity besides. I would not make myself cheap, by walking the streets so much as you do. Verbum sat.”

After a while, Wilkes appears to have become somewhat alarmed at carrying on this dangerous correspondence with a character so provokingly mysterious; for in a letter addressed to Junius, on the 6th November, he says,—“You shall have every communication you wish from me. Yet I beg *Junius* to reflect a moment. *To whom am I now writing?* I am all doubt and uncertainty, though not mistrust or suspicion. I should be glad to canvass freely every part of a great plan. I dare not write it to a man I do not know; of whose connexions I am totally ignorant. I differ with Junius in one point: I think by being concealed he has infinite advantages which

I want. I am on the Indian coast, where, from the fire kindled round me, I am marked out to every hostile arrow which knows its way to me. Those who are in the dark are safe, from the want of direction of the pointless shaft. I followed Junius's advice about the card, on the anniversary of the king's accession. I dropped the idea. I wish to know his sentiments about certain projects against the usurped powers of the House of Lords. The business is too vast to write, too hazardous to communicate, to an unknown person. *Junius* will forgive me. What can be done? Alas! where is the man, after all Wilkes has experienced, in whose friendly bosom he can repose his secret thoughts, his noble but dangerous designs? The person most capable he can have no access to, and all others he will not trust. I stand alone; *isolé*, as the French call it; a single column, unpropped, and perhaps nodding to its fall."

Junius wrote another short letter afterwards, which Wilkes answered; and the correspondence then ceased. Junius's first letter to Wilkes is dated 21st August 1771; and his last, 9th November 1771; during this period Wilkes received ten letters and notes, several of which are of considerable length.

At Wilkes's death this correspondence came into the possession of his daughter, Miss Mary Wilkes, from whose executors the letters appear to have passed into the hands of Mr. Woodfall, and were first published in his complete edition of *Junius*, in 1812.

Mr. Butler tells us that "all the letters, except the letter to the king, are, if I remember rightly, in the same handwriting. It is like that which well-educated ladies wrote about the beginning of the century, a large open

hand, regular, approaching to the Italian. The letter to the king was in a handwriting perfectly different, a very regular staid hand, no difference between the fair stroke and the body of the letters. The letters generally, if not always, were sent in an envelope (which was then by no means so general as it now is), and in the folding up and the direction of the letter we thought we could see *marks of the writer's habit of folding and directing official letters*. The lines were very even; very few blots, erasures, or marks of hurry."—*Reminis.* i. 79.

Mr. Jackson, who was one of Mr. Woodfall's shopmen when the Letters of Junius appeared, mentions in a letter inserted by him in the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1813, that the *superscription was invariably written in the same handwriting, but that the contents were not always so*.

The various fac-similes of the handwriting of Junius given in Mr. Woodfall's edition, his editor assures us, have been executed with peculiar fidelity, and selected from those parts of his manuscripts which present the greatest diversity of penmanship; though the differences, except in that numbered *eight*, are so trifling, that a hard or a soft, a good or a bad, pen, is sufficient to account for them. The seals used by Junius have also been delineated with equal accuracy.

Mr. Wilkes remarked that the manner in which Junius corrected the printed sheets shewed that he was accustomed to such an employment, and had a familiar use of the marks of printers in correcting proof sheets; but we do not find this opinion corroborated by Mr. Woodfall, who would be a much better authority.

There is much diversity of opinion among the Investigators, as to whether the Letters of Junius were the com-

position of one or more persons; whether the author wrote them with his own hand or employed an amanuensis; and as to what has become of the autographs of Junius's *public Letters*, for it seems that Mr. G. Woodfall only possessed the *private Notes* written to his father. These inquiries are interesting, inasmuch as they tend to throw light on the important question, whether Junius was in fact—"the sole depository of his own secret." On these points his assertions and the internal evidence afforded by the Letters are contradictory and inconsistent; but this is nothing more than might be expected, because the concealment of the author mainly depended on his success in misleading the world on the subject. "The general idea," says Mr. Butler, "that the letters were the composition of more than one person, we always rejected."

"In the instance of handwriting," observes Mr. E. H. Barker (p. 138), "it is by many persons admitted that Junius *sometimes, or always, employed an amanuensis*, and hence arises a difficulty which proves the uncertainty of all arguments connected with this branch of the question: who can decide—1. Whether Junius did (as Mr. Butler in his *Reminiscences*, i. 100, thinks), or did not (as Mr. Taylor, p. 370, imagines) employ an amanuensis? 2. Whether he did or did not uniformly employ the same amanuensis? 3. Whether that amanuensis did or did not convey the letters to Woodfall? 4. Whether we have clear and positive and certain evidence that the private letters to Woodfall signed *Junius*, were in the handwriting of the real Junius, *i.e.* of him who composed them? 5. Whether, supposing the handwriting of the real Junius to have been alone employed, it was on all occasions his *natural*, or on all occasions his *dis-*

guised hand, or sometimes the natural, and sometimes the disguised hand?"

In a letter written by Mr. Butler to Mr. E. H. Barker, the 14th June 1828, it is said:—"I know from Mr. Woodfall himself, that he thinks the originals of Junius's Letters were destroyed by his father; but I believe he has no reason for thinking it, except that it was the custom of his father to burn all his letters at a certain period of the year. *As Junius's letters had so much real, and so much possible importance, I cannot believe the fact.* Mr. Woodfall, however, is persuaded of it, and is convinced that somehow or other I am mistaken in thinking I saw the original letters in the custody of Mr. Wilkes. As the circumstance, if it took place at all, took place about half a century ago, I should readily admit the mistake, if the fact now came into my memory for the first time. But the circumstance that I saw the *letters* in Mr. Wilkes's custody; that the *letter to the king* is in a handwriting *different from the others*; and the conversations which took place at the time between Mr. Wilkes and myself, have occurred to my mind more than once in every year since the time I have mentioned, and my recollection of the fact is so distinct, *that I have no doubt of it.*"

Mr. Thomas Coventry, likewise, in a letter addressed to the same gentleman, dated January 5th, 1828, says—"In reply to your queries, I believe I can now strictly answer them. 1. Mr. Woodfall declares that every year it was his father's custom to destroy all the papers of the preceding year; *but with respect to Junius's correspondence,* 2. There is every reason to believe, that after such letters were printed, *it was the invariable custom to return them to Junius through the medium of the coffee-houses.* Without

any private opinion, we have sufficient evidence from the correspondence between him and Mr. Woodfall, that such packets were regularly sealed and delivered,—*what else could they contain?* 3. We have also evidence that the private letters to Mr. Wilkes were forwarded through Mr. Woodfall. You may recollect he says in one of his notes—Shew the dedication and preface to Mr. Wilkes.”

There is, Mr. Barker thinks, some reason to doubt whether any of the letters addressed by Junius to Mr. Wilkes were in the handwriting which we consider to be the handwriting of Junius. It is pretty evident that Junius corresponded with Mr. Wilkes through Mr. Woodfall; and there is fair ground for supposing, from the habitual and unavoidable caution of Junius, that he would require copies to be taken in Mr. Woodfall's office, and forwarded to Mr. Wilkes by a porter, by a private hand, or by the penny post. It is certain that Mr. Wilkes was in the habit of endorsing the letters and stating when he received each, and (where he knew the fact) from whom. Thus one communication was received “from a chairman;” another “by the penny post.” Mr. Butler states the letter to the king, which he saw in Mr. Wilkes's possession, to have been in a different hand from the others; and this is a strong confirmation that Mr. Wilkes had not any originals, but only copies. In another letter, Mr. Coventry says,—“there is a lady now living, who when she was a girl used to be locked up by old Woodfall till she had executed her allotted tasks of transcription; he kept possession of the letters, and dictated the matter to her from them. Moreover, the letter sent to Garrick by Woodfall in the name of Junius, was not an original, but a copy. It was Mr.

Woodfall's lawyer, who resided in Paternoster-row, that copied the letter to Garrick, in Mr. Upcott's possession." Upon these communications, Mr. E. H. Barker makes the following remarks:—

"The only specimens of Junius's writing, whether in a real or feigned hand, whether in his own hand or in the hand of an amanuensis, on which reliance can be placed, are the *private letters* of Junius to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, in the possession of the present Mr. Woodfall. The latter states that it was the practice of his father, to destroy all correspondence at the end of the year. We will admit that it was his *general* practice; but if such had been his *universal and invariable* practice, even the *private letters* of Junius, addressed to himself, would have been sacrificed in the holocaust. The preservation of the *private letters* proves, beyond all doubt, that Woodfall would have preserved every *original* communication of Junius, if each and all had been in his power. The supposition of Mr. Coventry is well warranted—that Junius's *letters*, at least the *public letters*, were returned to himself, through the Coffee-houses mentioned in the *private letters* to Woodfall."

"It appears to our view (says Dr. Waterhouse), that the writings of Junius emanated *from one mind, and yet not without assistance*. Some person must have been privy to them; but this aid must have been confined to the writer's own household, to his nearest family connexions, subordinate to one great overruling mind. Otherwise the transcription and the immediate transmission of those letters to one, and the same printer, could not have been accomplished; a service that could not be purchased with money, or enforced by authority.

It must have been done by kindred aid alone, it being that kind of concern in which the stranger doth not intermeddle. Without such domestic aid, and affectionate conspiracy, we cannot conceive that such an extraordinary and dangerous correspondence could possibly have been carried on three years undetected, and have remained undivulged to this time. None of the searchers after Junius have considered this point with due attention.”—*Essay*, p. 97.

“It may appear strange,” observes Mr. Butler, “that government could not discover Junius through the medium of the Post-office. Upon this I must observe, that I knew a lady, who for a long period of time received by the post, anonymous letters, some of them written in blood, accusing her of the most atrocious crimes. She was nearly related to a nobleman very high in office, and by his desire all the powers of government were exerted to discover the writer of the letters, but without effect.

“It was also mentioned to us from very good authority, that Lord North had declared, that government had traced the portorage of the letters to an obscure person in Staples Inn, but could never trace them further.” And in a note, Mr. Butler adds: “This expression has been confirmed to the reminiscence within these few weeks, by a person present when it was spoken, with the additional circumstance that the gentleman in Staples Inn to whom it referred, was afterwards said to be the celebrated Isaac Reed, famed for his literary acquaintance among all ranks of persons.”

That Junius was *an Englishman*, we have his own express declaration, in the dedication of his Letters to the English nation, which commences with the following

sentence:—"I dedicate to you a collection of Letters written by *one of yourselves*, for the common benefit of us all." And in the preface he speaks of himself as an "*English gentleman*." This is further confirmed by his discriminate delineation of the English character. "The *people of England* are by nature somewhat phlegmatic; this complexional character is extremely striking, when contrasted with the suddenness and vivacity of many of our neighbours on the Continent; it even appears remarkable among the several kindred tribes which compose the great mass of the British empire. The *heat of the Welch*, the *impetuosity of the Irish*, the *acrimony of the Scotch*, and the *headlong violence of the Creolians*, are national temperaments very different from that of the *native genuine English*."

"This slowness of feeling is in some respects inconvenient; but on the whole view of life it has, I think, the advantage clearly on its side; *our countrymen* derive from thence a firmness, and uniformity, and a perseverance in their designs, which enable them to conquer the greatest difficulties, and to arrive at the ultimate point of perfection in almost every thing they undertake."—*Misc. Letters*, 24th February 1768.

The following ingenious argument has been adduced by Mr. Taylor (p. 166), to prove that Junius must have been a *tall man*.

"It is the custom only of tall men, to attach very commonly the epithet '*little*,' to those whom they are inclined to treat with disrespectful freedom. We seldom find one of a middle size guilty of this; it too nearly concerns himself. If he employs the term, it either loses its force, or recoils upon him with an unpleasant effect."

The slightest observation will confirm this remark. If then in Junius, we see the word *little*, assigned to many different individuals, we may conclude that the person of the writer was of an opposite description. Should it appear that this is a habit in which he *frequently* indulges, and that some individuals not much, if anything, below the common standard are thus distinguished; we may judge, by the same rule, the denominator was himself a taller man than ordinary. To this class *Junius* most certainly belongs; his liberal sprinkling of the *inglorious* attribute, among those who had the honour of his notice, may be collected from the following examples.

“I don’t so much question Mr. Harvey’s being able to give good advice, as that *other little man’s* being either willing or able to follow it;” alluding to Lord Barrington, who is again styled ‘my little lord.’

“Mr. Chamier is scarcely ever mentioned, but as ‘*little Shammy*—a tight active *little fellow*—a *little* gambling broker—*little* waddlewell—*little* three per cents. reduced—a *little* whiffing broker,’ etc.

“Mr. Ellis is a *little* piece of machinery—*little* Ellis—*little minikin* Ellis——”

That Junius was a man of *high rank and independent fortune*, are points on which the best authorities are equally unanimous and decisive. Mr. Woodfall’s editor declares that “the proofs are clear that he was a man of *independent fortune*; that he moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately acquainted, from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident.”—*Prelim. Essay*, 32.

And Mr. Butler inferred that Junius was a man of

high rank, from the tone of equality which he seemed to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them; and observes, "We have taken notice of the *tone of equality* in which Junius mentions and addresses the *very highest personages* of his times. How difficult it is for a person of an inferior rank to do this, appears from Swift's letters, and the anecdotes of him that have been transmitted to us, in which his consciousness of inferiority, notwithstanding his assumption of equality, pierces through every disguise." A further circumstance noticed by Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Butler respecting Junius, was, his early intelligence of the measures of government. "Those," observes Mr. Butler, "who recollect the controversy which took place between the Count de Guignes, the French ambassador in this country, and Salvador, the Portuguese Jew, in consequence of certain stock-jobbing transactions, during the dispute between Spain and this country respecting Falkland Island, and the manner in which the British Cabinet changed on a sudden from words of war to words of peace, must be surprised at the early intelligence which Junius gave of this change to Woodfall."—*Reminis.* i. 85.

On this subject, Dr. Good also remarks, "that Junius moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately and confidentially connected either directly or indirectly with *ALL the public offices of government*, is if possible *still clearer than that he was a man of independent property*; for the feature that particularly characterised him at the time of his writing, and that cannot even now be contemplated without surprise, was the facility with which he became acquainted with *every*

ministerial measure, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception."—*Prelim. Essay*, 35.

In one of his private letters to Woodfall, Junius remarks, "As for myself, be assured that *I am far above all pecuniary views*;" and in another, he says, "And you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that my *rank and fortune* place me above a common bribe." On one occasion he appears to hint at some prospect of taking a part in the government of the country. "I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you, *but if things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works*."

It seems also evident from the Letters, that Junius was a member of the House of Commons. For in a letter of the 28th May 1770, he says, "The speaker [Sir Fletcher Norton] being young in office, began with pretended ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. *We were not surprised at the decision, but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness, and every man was astonished*." Again in a letter of 22d April 1771, "*We have seen him* [Mr. Wedderburne] *in the House of Commons, overwhelmed with confusion, and almost bereft of his faculties*." In another letter of 15th August 1771, he says, "*My vote* will hardly recommend him [Lord Chatham] to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet." Again, Oct. 5th, 1771, "I willingly accept of a sarcasm from Colonel Barré, or a simile from Mr. Burke, even the silent vote of Mr. Calcraft is worth reckoning in a division." This seems to be the language in which a member of the House, and not a mere hearer of the debates, would express himself; and there are many such passages in the Letters. He also exhibits so intimate, so peculiar a knowledge of the customs and duties of the House, and

the bearing of every measure which is agitated within its walls, and of the character, manners, and sentiments of its members, and the distinct nature of their individual eloquence, as could not well be possessed by any but one of their own number.

From the declaration contained in a letter of Philo Junius (August 26th, 1771), we learn that *Junius was a christian, and professed an attachment to the established church.* “As a man, I am satisfied that he (Junius) is a christian upon the most sincere conviction. As a writer he would be grossly inconsistent with his political principles, if he dared to attack a religion established by those laws which it seems to be the purpose of his life to defend.”

That Junius was of *mature age*, as supposed by Dr. Good, is evident from various passages in his Letters. In one of the miscellaneous letters, dated 10th June 1769, he says, “I am an *old reader of political controversy*, I remember the great Walpolian battles,” etc.; now as Sir Robert Walpole quitted office in 1741, Junius, at the time this was written, could scarcely be less than fifty years old. In a private letter to Woodfall (27th Nov. 1771) he observes, “After a *long experience of the world*, I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.” We have likewise Junius’s own acknowledgment that in the year 1771 his dancing days were over: this confession comes out in answer to a jovial invitation from Wilkes, to the Lord Mayor’s feast. At that time Wilkes was Sheriff of London, and the artful civic functionary tried hard to inveigle his mysterious friend to the Lord Mayor’s ball, and secure him as a partner (perhaps for life) for his amiable daughter. The invitation is couched in the following terms:

“Does Junius wish for any dinner or ball tickets for the Lord Mayor’s day for himself or friends, or a favourite, or *Junia*. The day will be worth observation, whether *Cretâ an carbone notandus*, I do not know; but the people, sir, the people are the sight! *How happy should I be to see my Portia here dance a graceful minuet with Junius Brutus*. But Junius is inexorable, and I submit. I would send your tickets to Woodfall.”

To Wilkes’s polite invitation, Junius returned the following grave and dignified answer: “Many thanks for your obliging offer, but, alas! *my age and figure* would do but little credit to my partner. I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth *I see no connexion between Junius and a minuet*.”

“The whole general style of Junius,” observes the author of ‘Junius Unmasked,’ “is that of a man whose *age and experience*, not less than his *rank and abilities*, entitle him to speak with authority, and to claim for his opinions a more than common deference and respect. Whatever he writes wears the air of easy, dignified, habitual superiority and confidence, which are altogether different from the hasty, petulant, presumptuous assurance of youth. No one can rise from the perusal of these Letters with the belief that they were the work of a youthful mind. In our opinion, this feeling amounts to a decided conviction. Junius speaks directly, in many instances, of the youth of those persons whom he scourges with his satire, and he habitually does it with a manner full of superiority and deep-felt contempt. Whenever he charges upon any member of the administration the atrocious crime of being ‘a young man,’ the charge is conveyed in the most sarcastic, reproachful language,

and in a style which none but a man of years would have adopted. Some of his remarks on the errors which young men are apt to fall into, and the feelings which they commonly cherish, exhibit a knowledge that could have been only obtained from much reflection and experience."

The following is a striking instance. Junius says, of the Duke of Grafton: "An obstinate, ungovernable, self-sufficiency, plainly points out to us that state of imperfect maturity at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser, and reform, etc.:" this, with what immediately follows, is one of those original and masterly remarks on human nature, which no one but a man of long experience and penetrating sagacity could have struck out.

The only person to whom the mysterious Junius ever appeared in a tangible shape or bodily form, was a Mr. Jackson, who, while he was in the employ of Mr. Woodfall, once saw a *tall* gentleman dressed in a light coat with bag and sword throw into the office door opening in Ivy-lane, a letter of Junius, which Mr. Jackson picked up, and immediately followed the bearer of it into St. Paul's Churchyard, where he saw him get into a hackney coach and drive off. Here we must confess our inability to track any further the corporeal footsteps of Junius; but it appears that, when he had "shuffled off this mortal coil," he was, like the "majesty of buried Denmark,"

"Doom'd for a certain term to walk the night."

And we shall conclude by introducing the reader to his "perturbed spirit," as described by the glowing pen of a noble poet—

The Shadow came! a tall, thin, gray-haired figure,
That looked as it had been a shade on earth;
Quick in its motions, with an air of vigour,
But nought to mark its breeding or its birth;
Now it wax'd little, then again grew bigger,
With now an air of gloom or savage mirth;
But as you gazed upon its features, they
Changed every instant—to WHAT, none could say.

The more intently the ghost gazed, the less
Could they distinguish whose the features were;
The Devil himself seemed puzzled even to guess;
They varied like a dream—now here, now there;
And several people swore from out the press,
They knew him perfectly; and one could swear
He was his father; upon which another
Was sure he was his mother's cousin's brother.

Another, that he was a duke, or knight,
An orator, a lawyer, or a priest,
A nabob, a man-midwife; but the wight
Mysterious changed his countenance at least
As oft as they their minds; though in full sight
He stood, the puzzle only was increased;
The man was a phantasmagoria in
Himself—he was so volatile and thin!

The moment that you had pronounced him ONE,
Presto! his face changed, and he was another;
And when that change was hardly well put on,
It varied; till I don't think his own mother
(If that he had a mother) would her son
Have known; he shifted so from one to t'other,
Till guessing from a pleasure grew a task,
At this epistolary "iron mask."

For sometimes he like Cerberus would seem—

“Three gentlemen at once” (as sagely says
Good Mrs. Malaprop); then you might deem

That he was not even ONE; now many rays
Were flashing round him; and now a thick steam

Hid him from sight—like fogs on London days:
Now Burke, now Tooke, he grew to people’s fancies,
And certes often like Sir Philip Francis.

Lord Byron’s “Vision of Judgment.”

THE CONFLICTS AND PERILS OF JUNIUS.

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty,
When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs.

Milton.

I've read of men beyond man's daring brave,
Who yet have trembled at the strokes he gave;
Whose souls have felt more terrible alarms
From his *one line*, than from a world in arms.

Churchill.

In truth I have left no room for accommodation with the piety
of St. James, my offences are not to be redeemed by recantation
or repentance.

Junius.

CHAPTER III.

Attacks of numerous Ministerial writers on Junius. — Junius's opinion of the nature of the contests in which he was engaged. — His first controversy with Sir William Draper. — Is challenged by Sir William; proofs afforded by this controversy and other passages in the Letters of Junius that their author was a Soldier. — Contradictory passages noticed. — Account of Junius's contest with Mr. Horne. — Keen search after Junius. — His advice to Woodfall how to conduct himself in case of danger. — Prosecution against Woodfall for publishing Junius's Letter to the King. — Result of the trial. — Serjeant Glynn's motion in the House of Commons to inquire into the administration of Criminal Justice. — Lord Camden's attack on Lord Mansfield for his conduct on Woodfall's trial. — Junius's remarks on the transaction. — Various schemes to detect Junius. — His art and vigilance to guard his secret and prevent discovery. — His furious attack on Garrick for communicating to the King the intention to discontinue his Letters. — Junius's anxiety and dread of discovery. — His contradictory accounts of himself to mystify Woodfall. — The success of his devices. — The Duke of Grafton unacquainted with the Author. — Mr. Butler's conjecture respecting him. — The mysterious box at Stowe.

THE CONFLICTS AND PERILS OF JUNIUS.

The foe is merciless, and will not pity,
For at their hands I have deserved no pity.

Shakspeare.

“No man,” observes Dr. Good, “but he, who with a thorough knowledge of our Author’s style, undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser from January 1769 to January 1772, can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to, by the composition of other letters, under other signatures, in order to support the preeminent pretensions and character of Junius, attacked as it was by a multiplicity of writers in favour of the administration, to whom, as Junius, he did not choose to make any reply whatever. And instead of wondering that he should have disappeared at the distance of about five years, we ought much rather to be surprised that he should have persevered through half this period with a spirit at once so indefatigable and invincible.”—*Prelim. Essay*, p. 47.

The opinion entertained by Junius of the contests in which he was engaged, may be collected from the way he speaks of them in his letter of the 13th of August 1771.—“As to myself, it is no longer a question *whether I shall mix with the throng and take a single share in the danger.* Wherever Junius appears, he must encounter

a host of enemies. But is there no honourable way to serve the public without engaging in personal quarrels with insignificant individuals, or submitting to the drudgery of canvassing votes for an election? Is there no merit in dedicating my life to the information of my fellow-subjects?—What public question have I declined? *What villain have I spared?*—Is there no labour in the composition of these letters? Mr. Horne, I fear, is partial to me, and measures the facility of *my* writings by the fluency of his own.” And again, April 22, 1771, he says: “To write for profit without taxing the press;—to write for fame and to be unknown;—to support the intrigues of faction, and to be disowned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every party in the kingdom,—are contradictions, which the Minister must reconcile before I forfeit my credit with the public. I may quit the service, but it would be absurd to suspect me of desertion. The reputation of these papers is an honourable pledge for my attachment to the people.”

And in the P. S. to a private letter to Mr. Wilkes he observes—“As you will probably never hear from me again, I will not omit this opportunity of observing to you that I am not properly supported in the newspapers. One would think that all the fools were of the other side of the question. As to myself it is of little moment. *I can brush away the swarming insects whenever I think proper*; but it is bad policy to let it appear in any instance that we have not numbers as well as justice on our side.”

The first serious contest in which Junius was involved was with Sir William Draper, who, as Sir Nathaniel Wraxall observes,* “was doubtless impelled by the desire

* Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs, vol. ii. 186.

of displaying his intimacy with the Marquis of Granby to take up his pen in that nobleman's defence. Junius's obligation to his officious friendship was indelible; for however admirably written may be his letter of the '21st of January 1769,' which opened the series of those celebrated compositions, it was Draper's answer, with his signature annexed to it, that drew all eyes towards the two literary combatants. Sir William was so injudicious as to renew the correspondence six months after its first termination. But he derived no advantage from it. Junius treated him as the Marchioness de Chaves' secretary treated Gil Blas — disarmed and dismissed him. Yet Draper's letters, if they could be considered separately from those of his antagonist, are classical and elegant productions. When perused, as Sir William's must ever be, in conjunction with the answers made by Junius, they shrink into comparative inferiority."

Such is the judgment of an intelligent contemporary on this famous controversy; and perhaps it would be difficult to select from any of Junius's writings more favourable specimens of his style than the letters he wrote on this occasion. They display, in an eminent degree, all the acuteness and tact for which their author was so celebrated, and contain passages of the most refined and polished irony, with less of that savage and ferocious sarcasm in which he afterwards indulged, when the voice of an admiring nation had awarded him the palm due to the first political writer of his age. In this contest the towering Junius was only trying his pinions — pluming his wings for loftier flights. The result having given him implicit confidence in his own powers, he soon began to treat with vindictive and rancorous

vituperation the most exalted characters in the nation. But even at the commencement of his career, such was the atrocity of his insinuations against the character and honour of Sir William Draper, that the latter, writhing in agony under the inflictions of his invisible tormentor, was compelled to exclaim—"If I *must perish*, Junius, let me perish in the face of day;—be for once a generous and open enemy. I allow that gothic appeals to cold iron are no better proofs of a man's honesty and veracity than hot iron and burning ploughshares are of female chastity; but a soldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's—it must not be suspected. You have dared to throw more than a suspicion upon mine: you cannot but know the consequences, which even the meekness of Christianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me."

Junius declined Sir William's polite invitation, for the following, among other reasons: "As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though *you* would fight, there are others who would assassinate." And concludes thus: "I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A considerable time must certainly elapse before we are personally acquainted. You need not, however, regret the delay, or suffer an apprehension that any length of time can restore you to the Christian meekness of your temper, and disappoint your present indignation. If I understand your character, there is in your own breast a repository, in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without the hazard of diminution. The *odia in longum*

jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret, I thought, had only belonged to the worst character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus;—you know best where to look for the commentary.” (25th September 1769).

We think it impossible for any person to peruse attentively this controversy without being convinced, that the profound and accurate knowledge displayed by Junius of military affairs could only have been possessed by *an old and experienced soldier*; that it was by no means of such a superficial and amateur character as might have been gleaned by a clerk in the War Office; but bears indubitable marks of being the result of that knowledge which is only to be acquired in the tented field, and amidst the actual turmoil and din of war. Indeed, it is obvious, that martial subjects are those, on which Junius chiefly delighted to expatiate: and, as evidence of the fact, the reader is referred to the series of letters addressed to Lord Harborough, in vindication of the character of Sir Jeffery Amherst; and the numerous letters to Lord Barington, the Secretary at War, principally respecting the dismissal of Mr. D'Oyley and Mr. Francis, two of his clerks; likewise to the importance attached by Junius to the paltry affair of General Gansel, about effecting his escape from a sheriff's officer; and several other military subjects of minor importance, which are discussed by Junius with equal warmth and accuracy. In a note to a letter of the 22d August 1770, he says:—"This infamous transaction ought to be explained to the public. Colonel Gisborne was quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend persuades him to resign to a Scotch officer, one Fraser, and gives him the government of Kinsale. Colonel Cunningham was adjutant-general in Ireland.

Lord Townshend offers him a pension, to induce him to resign to Luttrell. Cunningham treats the offer with contempt. What's to be done? Poor Gisborne must move once more. He accepts a pension of 500*l.* a-year, until a government of greater value shall become vacant. Colonel Cunningham is made Governor of Kinsale; and Luttrell, at last, for whom the whole machinery is put in motion, becomes adjutant-general, and in effect takes the command of the army in Ireland." Now it may be asked, who, except a military man, would take any interest in this complicated minor military transaction; or of what importance was it to the public which of the colonels, Gisborne, Cunningham, or Luttrell, became adjutant-general?

It may be further remarked, that on whatever subject Junius is writing, he displays a mind saturated with military ideas, and an imagination teeming with martial imagery. His allusions to the circumstances and pomp of war are incessant, and almost innumerable. We select the following passages from his letters, of various dates, out of many other instances that might be given:

September 19, 1769. His palace is besieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawn round him.

February 14, 1770. Neither the abject submission of deserting his post in the hour of danger, nor even the sacred shield of cowardice, should protect him.

February 6, 1771. Not daring to attack the main body of Junius's last letter, he triumphs in having, as he thinks, surprised an outpost, and cut off a detached argument—a mere straggling proposition; but even in this petty warfare he shall find himself defeated.

August 15, 1771. Thanks are undoubtedly due to every man

who does his duty in the engagement; but it is the wounded soldier who deserves the reward.

September 28, 1771. *Corruption glitters in the van, collects and maintains a standing army of mercenaries, and at the same moment impoverishes and enslaves the country.*

October 5, 1771. The favour of his country constitutes the shield which defends him against a thousand daggers. Desertion would disarm him.

October 12, 1767. This is a kind of combat usually fought on, and indeed the only one adapted to the field of a public paper.

Again:—Thus circumstanced, I will not take either part, but offer myself as a friend to both, to measure the ground, give the word, and carry off the body of whichever falls in the field of honour.

March 4, 1768. It remained like an old piece of cannon I have heard of somewhere, of an enormous size, which stood upon a ruinous bastion, and which was seldom or never fired, for fear of bringing down the fortification for whose defence it was intended.

October 19, 1768. His Grace had honourably flesht his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit.

March 10, 1772. Was he winged like a messenger, or stationary like a sentinel?

“From the minute military observations introduced in the controversy with Sir William Draper,” observes Mr. Taylor; “from the narrative of General Gansel’s rescue in sight of the Horse Guards; from the notice of Colonel Burgoyne’s appointment to the government of Fort St. George immediately after it took place; and from the premature announcement of that of Colonel Luttrell to be adjutant-general in Ireland,—it has been long suspected that Junius was in some degree connected with the Horse Guards. But the *Private and Miscellaneous Letters* lately published place it beyond a doubt. The War Office is the scene of several dramatic representations; and there

is such precision in the secret intelligence from that quarter conveyed to Woodfall or to the public, as occurs in no other department of the state, and could not be acquired from this, except by one who had access to the fountain-head for information."

Dr. Johnson, in commenting on the controversy between Salmasius and Milton, says: "Milton's supreme pleasure is to tax his adversary, so renowned for criticism, with vicious Latin;" and then sagaciously remarks: "*no man forgets his original trade*; the rights of nations and of kings sink into questions of grammar, if grammarians discuss them." And it appears that the remark is equally applicable to a soldier, when he exchanges the sword for the pen.

The circumstance of Junius being a military man seems placed beyond all doubt by this remarkable passage in one of his letters to Lord Barrington: "My Lord, the rest of the world laugh at your choice, but *we soldiers* feel it as an indignity to the whole army, and be assured *we* shall resent it."

It must, however, in candour be acknowledged, that in another letter, dated 20th September 1768, Junius says: "I am *not a soldier*, my Lord, nor will I pretend to determine what share of honour a General is entitled to for success, who must have borne the whole blame and disgrace if he had failed." And thus we find that Junius, like the Weird Sisters, "palters with us in a double sense." But whether Junius was, *at the time* of writing his Letters, or had *previously been*, a soldier, it seems clear, from the many excellent reasons which he gave for declining Sir William Draper's gothic appeal to cold iron, *that his valour was tempered by discretion*; and perhaps we may

find reason to conclude, before the termination of this inquiry, that if Junius did not resemble Falstaff (inasmuch as he could fight *on compulsion*), yet that like “the wary Wedderburne and pompous Suffolk, he never threw away the scabbard, *nor ever went upon a forlorn hope.*”

Junius's next contest was with the Rev. John Horne (who afterwards quitted the church, and took the name of John Horne Tooke), which did not terminate quite so brilliantly as his former combat with Sir William Draper. The admirers of Junius are very unwilling to admit that he ever sustained a defeat, or retired from any contest in which he engaged otherwise than “covered with glory;” but an impartial examination of his controversy with Mr. Horne will at least leave this a doubtful question. The contest originated in Junius having made an unprovoked attack on Mr. Horne in a letter addressed to the Duke of Grafton, by charging him with endeavouring to support the ministerial nomination of sheriffs. This charge Mr. Horne positively denied, and called *for proofs*; and the ability displayed in his first letter seems to have convinced Junius that he had imprudently drawn on himself no ordinary antagonist. He therefore attempted to smother all further discussion by sending Mr. Horne a hasty, and inconsiderate private letter, at the same time telling him, that he might print it if he thought proper. Junius had, however, this time mistaken his man. Horne's acuteness detected at a glance the weak points of his adversary, and enabled him to take up a position from which he might safely defy his assailant. Junius's letter was immediately returned to Woodfall for insertion in his paper, and in a few days afterwards there

appeared such an answer from Horne as completely stripped the question at issue of all the false glitter and sophistry, with which Junius had attempted to invest it, and placed the controversy in so clear a light, that Junius was quite unable to frame any satisfactory reply. This first tended to convince the public, that if Junius were terrible as Achilles in his rage—" *Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer*"—he was also, like his prototype, not wholly invulnerable.

The reply of Junius, which is addressed, *not* to Mr. Horne, but to the printer of the P.A., did not exhibit his accustomed confidence of manner, or coolness of temper. He seemed to feel that his adversary's position could not be carried by a *coup de main*, and he lost his collectedness and displayed much irritability. His assault was fierce, but irregular; he fought gallantly, but not firmly; and though he inflicted some severe wounds on his adversary, his main attack utterly failed. Junius appeared to be conscious that in this unfortunate contest all things conspired against him. He had unjustly and wantonly assailed a comparatively ignoble antagonist, who proved himself a consummate master of his weapons. He could reap little glory from victory, and had everything to apprehend from defeat; and the apostrophe of Marmion to his faithless falchion, might have been applied by Junius to his pen:

Curse on yon base marauder's lance,
And doubly cursed my failing brand,
A sinful heart makes feeble hand.

In a critique on Reid's *Memoirs of Horne Tooke*, in the *Quarterly Review* (No. xiv. p. 319), it is observed of this celebrated controversy:—"Mr. Horne's style is

strongly impressed with the character of his mind—neat, clear, precise, and forcible; free from affectation, void of ornament. We do not think he was ever vulgar, but he is full of that genuine Anglicism of which the course of his studies rendered him at once an admirer and a master—that native idiom, which the brilliant success of some of those who have written English as a foreign language, has within the last fifty years brought into disuse and almost into oblivion. The most finished specimen of his composition is probably to be found in the two or three letters written in answer to the attacks of Junius, and he had the honour, which in those days was deemed no inconsiderable one, of being the only knight that returned with his lance unbroken from a combat with that unknown, but terrible champion. If he wants the requisite and the brilliant invective of his adversary, that dexterous malignity which comes in with such effect to blacken a character by insinuation after invective has exhausted its powers, and above all, that well-sustained tone of *austere dignity which gives to Junius the air and authority of a great personage in disguise*; he is superior to him in vivacity, facility, and that assurance of plainness and sincerity, which is of such importance in controversial writings. The great fault of Junius is a sort of stiffness and appearance of labour—his compositions smell too much of the lamp—he wanted nothing to be a perfect master of his art but the power of concealing it. Mr. Tooke's letters have the flow of unity and simplicity which belong to writings struck off at a heat, and which depend for their effect rather upon the general powers of the writer, than upon the great nicety and labour in the particular instance. In justice to Junius

as a writer, we must add that he was labouring under the disadvantages of a weak case. It is evident that he was early and deeply sensible of his own mistake, and he was therefore glad to put an end to the contest as soon as possible, even at the price of leaving his adversary in possession of the field,—a humiliation to which he would not have submitted, but from the consciousness of his having originally selected an unfavourable ground.”

Junius afterwards admitted, in a private letter to Mr. Woodfall, of the 27th of November 1771, that he was mistaken in the conjecture that Horne had misrepresented the sentiments conveyed in his Letters to the Bill of Rights Society, and seems more than half to suspect Wilkes. This is one of the very few instances in which Junius acknowledges his fallibility.

“Enveloped in the cloud of a fictitious name,” says Dr. Good, “Junius, unseen himself, beheld with secret satisfaction the vast influence of his labours, and enjoyed the universal hunt that was made to detect him in his disguise, and ministers, and more than ministers, trembling beneath the lash of his invisible hand.” But that he was not without his fears and apprehensions, may be inferred from the following advice, which he gives Woodfall in a letter of the 16th August 1769:—“Avoid prosecutions if you can, but above all things avoid the Houses of Parliament—there is no contending with them: at present you are safe, for this House of Commons has lost all dignity, and dare not do anything.”—And when the printer was apprehensive that the Duke of Bedford would not pass over the attack upon him, Junius thus consoles him:—“As to you, it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve

something expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave."

The printer having been menaced with a prosecution on the part of the Duke of Grafton, for the publication of the letter to him of the 12th December 1769, Junius thus writes to Woodfall:—"As to yourself, I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you; they dare not submit to such an inquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and subpoena Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw, of the Treasury: that will silence them at once. As to the House of Commons there may be more danger. But even there I am fully satisfied the ministry will exert themselves to quash such an inquiry, *and on the other side you will have friends*; but they have been so grossly abused on all sides, that they will hardly begin with you."—Mr. Woodfall it appears was still apprehensive, and could not avoid expressing his fears to his invisible friend, and, indeed, the Court of King's Bench was actually moved against him, but the matter was not further proceeded with; and on this occasion Junius, in his private letter of the 26th December 1769, makes the following observations: "I enter sincerely into the anxiety of your situation, at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon. They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an inquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is, they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke, than all the rest. At any rate stand firm (I mean with all the humble appearances of contrition); if you trim or

falter you will lose friends, without gaining others." The shrewd advice given by Junius was punctually followed, and his prediction verified, for the minister did not dare to enforce his threats.

Upon the publication of Junius's celebrated Letter to the King, Woodfall was not quite so fortunate, for an information was filed against him by the Attorney General, Mr. De Grey, in Hilary Term, 1770; but his invisible friend still followed him with assistance:—he offered him a reimbursement of whatever might be his pecuniary expenses, and aided him with the soundest, prudential, and legal advice. On this occasion he says,—“As to yourself, I really think you are in no danger. *You* are not the object, and punishing *you* could be no gratification to the king.” “But upon this subject (observes Mr. Woodfall's editor), the following is one of the most important notes, as although he expressly denies all *professional* knowledge of the law, it sufficiently proves that he was better acquainted with it than many who are actual practitioners:—

“I have carefully perused the information; it is so loose and ill-drawn, that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it will not be possible for a jury to find you guilty.”—Feb. 14, 1770.

In his first opinion he was mistaken, in his second he was correct. The cause was tried at Guildhall on the 13th June 1770, before Lord Mansfield; when his lordship in his charge to the jury informed them that they had nothing to do with the *intention*, for that the words in the indictment, *malicious, seditious*, etc., were merely words of

course, and that they were only to consider the *fact of publishing*, and whether a proper construction were put on the blanks in the paper, *their truth or falsehood being wholly immaterial*. The jury, however, after being out nine hours, found a verdict of "Guilty of printing and publishing only," which was in effect an acquittal. It is to this cause that we are chiefly indebted for an acknowledged, and unequivocal right in the jury to return a general verdict; that is, a verdict that shall embrace matter of law as well as matter of fact. Upon the ambiguity of the verdict, however, in Woodfall's case, a motion was made by the defendant's counsel in arrest of judgment; at the same time an opposite motion was made by the counsel for the crown, for a rule calling upon the defendant to shew cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the legal import of the words. On both sides, a rule to shew cause was granted, and the matter being argued before the Court of King's Bench, Lord Mansfield, whose opinion was strongly in favour of the verdict being entered up, was supported by the opinion of Mr. Justice Smyth alone; the rest of the Judges opposing his Lordship.

The result was, that the Court ordered a new trial, which however was not proceeded in, for want of proof of the publication of the paper in question.

The costs of the printer for defending himself amounted to about 120*l.*; a somewhat heavy fine, observes Mr. Woodfall, for a person *not* found guilty. In a private letter of the 21st February 1771, Junius says, "You may rely upon it the Ministry are sick of prosecutions. Those against Junius cost the Treasury above 6000*l.*, and after all they got nothing but disgrace."

In a letter to the Duke of Grafton of the 9th of July 1771, Junius thus ironically alludes to his Letter to the King: "The only letter I ever addressed to the king was so unkindly received that I believe I shall never presume to trouble his majesty in that way again. But my zeal for his service is superior to neglect, and like Mr. Wilkes's patriotism, thrives by persecution."

Serjeant Glynn having made a motion in the House of Commons for an inquiry into the administration of Criminal Justice, the conduct of Lord Mansfield on Woodfall's trial was severely commented on in the course of the discussion; and though the motion was lost, his Lordship on the following day desired that the House of Lords might be summoned, stating that he had some matters to communicate to them.

The Lords accordingly met on the 10th December, but instead of entering into any explanations, Lord Mansfield contented himself with informing the House that he had left with the clerk of the house a copy of the Judgment of the Court of King's Bench, in the case of *The King v. Woodfall*, and that their lordships might read it, and take copies of it if they pleased.

On an inquiry from Lord Camden whether his Lordship meant to have the paper entered on the Journals, he replied, "No, only to leave it with the Clerk." On the following day Lord Camden said, "My Lords, I consider the paper delivered in by the noble lord on the woolsack, as a challenge directed personally to me, and I accept of it. He has thrown down the glove, and I take it up. In direct contradiction to him, I maintain that his doctrine is not the law of England; I am ready to enter into the debate whenever the noble lord will fix a day for it, I

desire and insist that it may be an early one." He then delivered in six questions founded on the paper deposited by Lord Mansfield with the clerk, desiring to have his lordship's answers thereto. Lord Mansfield replied, that this method of proposing questions was taking him by surprise, and that it was unfair, and that he would not answer interrogatories. Lord Camden then pressed him to appoint a day for giving in his answers; and Lord Mansfield after some hesitation, pledged himself to the House that the matter should be discussed, but ultimately refused to fix any day. In this manner terminated the discussion in the Lords on this subject, in which Lord Mansfield betrayed his constitutional timidity, and suffered his opponents to assume a tone of superiority over him.

In one of the miscellaneous letters under the signature of Phalaris, dated 17th December 1770, Junius makes the following remarks on the transaction: "For what reason Lord Mansfield laid his paper upon the table he best knows. He gave none to the House of Lords, except that he thought calling them together was the most compendious way of informing them where each lord might, if he pleased, procure a copy of his charge to the jury in Woodfall's cause. This was the whole; for he made no motion whatsoever, nor did he pretend to say, that in their corporate capacity as a House of Peers, they could take the least notice of the paper. Now, Sir, it remains with Lord Mansfield to give us an example, if he can, of any respectable peer having ever moved for a call of the House for so trifling, so nugatory, so ridiculous a purpose. I think it strongly deserves these epithets; and after much consideration, I can find but one possible

way of reconciling the fact with the cunning understanding of the man. When he summoned the House he never meant to do what he afterwards did; some qualm, some terror, interfered, and forced him hastily to alter his design and to substitute a silly, absurd measure, in the place of a dangerous one. As for his having dared Lord Chatham to a trial of his doctrines, I should be glad to know by whom the combat was refused. Lord Chatham attacked him directly upon the spot, and on the very next day it is known to the whole world that the great Lord Camden addressed him in the following words. Junius here states the substance of Lord Camden's speech, and concludes thus: "the d—l's in it if this be declining the trial; but what was the consequence? Lord Mansfield, after an hour's shuffling and evasion, finding himself pushed to the last extremity, cried out in an agony of torture and despair: 'No, I will not fix a day—I will not pledge myself.'"

That a variety of schemes were invented, and actually in motion to detect Junius, Dr. Good assures us there can be no doubt; but the extreme vigilance he at all times evinced, and the honourable forbearance of Mr. Woodfall, enabled him to baffle every effort, and to persevere in his concealment to the last.

"Your letter," says Junius, in one of his private notes, "was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent it."

On another occasion, his alarm was excited in consequence of various letters being addressed to him at the printing-office, with a view, as he suspected, of leading to a disclosure either of his person or abode. "I return you," says he in reply, "the letters you sent me yester-

day. A man who can write neither common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me: I should be glad, however, to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, and if it contain anything worth my knowing, send it, otherwise not. Instead of 'C. in the usual place,' say only 'a letter' when you have occasion to write again. I shall understand you."

Indeed, Junius's private letters afford abundant evidence of the truth of Dr. Good's remark, and shew that in order to preserve his momentous secret, and prevent detection, he displayed the most consummate art, and resorted to every stratagem that the fertile genius of an accomplished general could devise. Innumerable were his devices to deceive by false signals the conjectures of sagacity, and by delusive scents place at fault the harpies of the law, who would have rejoiced in tracking the great Boar of the forest to his lair.

Lord North, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, observed, "When factious and discontented men have brought things to this pass, why should we be surprised at the difficulty of bringing libellers to justice? Why should we wonder that the *great boar of the wood*, this mighty Junius, has broke through the toils and foiled the hunters? Though there may be at present no spear that will reach him, yet he may be some time or other caught. At any rate, he will be exhausted with fruitless efforts: those tusks which he has been whetting to wound and gnaw the constitution will be worn out. Truth will at last prevail. The public will see and feel that he has either advanced false facts, or reasoned falsely from true principles; and that he has owed his escape to the spirit of the times, not to the justice of his cause."

Such was the extreme vigilance used by Junius to guard his secret, that every effort of impertinent curiosity to penetrate the great mystery was repressed by some terrible though indefinite threat of vengeance, which appears in most instances to have struck the hearts of those to whom it was addressed with a sort of supernatural terror, and had generally the effect of paralyzing all further attempts at investigation. The furious attack made by Junius on Garrick, for having officiously communicated to the King his intention to discontinue writing, will exemplify what we have stated, and shew the sort of intimidation he resorted to on such occasions, and also his extreme sensitiveness respecting any interference with his concerns, or any attempt to tear off his mask. It likewise proves the astonishing quickness with which intelligence of what passed in the interior of the Palace came to his knowledge.

Garrick, it appears, had received a letter from Mr. Woodfall, in which it was mentioned in confidence, that there was some doubt whether Junius would continue to write much longer. The intelligence was directly communicated by Garrick to Mr. Ramus, one of the King's pages, who immediately conveyed it to his majesty, at that time *residing at Richmond*, and from the peculiar sources of information that were open to Junius, he was apprised of the whole transaction on the *ensuing morning*, and in consequence added the following P. S. to a note dated 8th November 1771, which he had previously written to Woodfall :

“(Secret). Beware of David Garrick: he was sent to pump you, and went directly to Richmond to tell the King I should write no more.” A note was at the same time

sent, addressed to 'Mr. David Garrick,' in the following terms: "I am very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, and of the information you so busily sent to Richmond, and with what triumph and exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day. Now mark me, vagabond!—Keep to your pantomimes, or be assured you shall hear of it.—Meddle no more, thou busy informer!—It is in my power to make you curse the hour in which you dared to interfere with—Junius."

Junius tells Woodfall—"I would send the above to Garrick directly, but that I would avoid having this hand too commonly seen. Oblige me, then, so much as to have it copied in any hand, and sent by the penny post, that is, if you dislike sending it in your own writing. I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or, if I did, they would attain me by bill. Change to the Somerset Coffee-house, and let no mortal know the alteration."

Junius knew that Garrick had learned from Woodfall that he would write no more; but he did not know in what manner this information was obtained. He imagined that Garrick had drawn it from Woodfall by his ingenuity, and under this impression he wrote the above notes.

Woodfall explained to Junius, that Garrick had been apprised of the intended discontinuance of the Letters by his having named it confidentially in a letter he was writing to Garrick, and therefore dissuaded Junius from sending the note—with this he at first seems satisfied, and says—"I have no doubt of what you say about David Garrick, *so drop the note.*" But so necessary was it that Garrick should not *endeavour* to trace him, that he adds—"As it is important to deter him from meddling,

I desire you will *tell him*, that I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from Junius would destroy him." Not satisfied with this security, he says at the end of the same letter—"Upon reflection, I think it absolutely necessary to send that note to D. G., only say *practices*, instead of impertinent inquiries. I think you have no measures to keep with a man who could betray a confidential letter for so base a purpose as pleasing——." And in his letter of the 27th November 1771, Junius again refers to the subject in the following manner:—"Though we may not be deficient in point of capacity, it is very possible that neither of us may be cunning enough for Mr. Garrick." And at the end of the note, observes—"David Garrick has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more."

Mr. Woodfall's editor states, that Garrick, from his own account, and from other intelligence on which full reliance could be placed, had been pertinacious in his attempts to discover Junius; and that the latter, for three weeks or a month afterwards, could scarcely ever write to Woodfall without cautioning him to be specially on his guard against Garrick, and under this impression alone he once changed his address.

In one of Junius's private letters to Woodfall, he pays him the compliment of observing, "you have never flinched that I know of." This we think is more than can be affirmed of Junius himself; for he manifests at various times an excessive dread of discovery, and a trembling alarm at its probable consequences, little in accordance with the high tone and lofty spirit in which he was wont to rebuke powerful nobles, and even kings. In one letter to Woodfall, he says—"I am persuaded you

are *too honest* a man to contribute in any way to my destruction; act honestly by me, and at a proper time you shall know me." In another:—"When you consider to what excessive enmities I may be exposed, you will not wonder at my caution. I really have not known how to procure your last." Again he writes:—"I have received your mysterious epistle; I dare say a letter may safely be left at the same place; but you may change the direction to Mr. John Fretley." The able editor of Mr. Woodfall's 'Junius' seems to have been quite puzzled and bewildered by the various* contradictory accounts which Junius gives of himself and his proceedings, with the view of preventing detection, and mystifying that *honest man* Mr. W. S. Woodfall. On one occasion, having sent a letter which he wished to disclaim, he writes thus: "The last letter you printed was idle and improper; and I assure you printed against my own opinion—the truth is, there are people about me whom I would wish not to contradict, who had rather see Junius in the papers, ever so improperly, than not at all."—But when the work is finished, and all risque is pretty well at an end, he assumes a bolder tone, and declares in his dedication—"I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me." In one letter he tells Woodfall—"Act honestly by me, and at a proper time you shall know me." We then find him declaring, "I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the turn I expect, you *shall know me by my works*." In one letter he makes this inquiry—"I beg you will tell me candidly, whether you know or suspect who I am." And then again he says—"As to me, be assured that it is not in the nature of things that they [the house

of Cavendish] or *you*, or anybody else, should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts, or inquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual." At one time he speaks of "the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence," and from other parts of the correspondence we learn that the letters were usually sent by a common porter. Dr. Good, not being able to reconcile these contradictions, supposes there was a *narrow circle* to whom Junius unbosomed himself—may not all these apparent contradictions and discrepancies be accounted for by concluding, that this *narrow circle* was confined to a single confidant, who occasionally acted as Junius's amanuensis and perhaps messenger? In short, he seems to have felt himself constrained, for the preservation of his secret, and perhaps of his existence, to tamper with that which a man of his haughty spirit and commanding intellect would never sacrifice but with the greatest reluctance, and in a case only of the most absolute necessity—HIS VERACITY AND HONOUR.

"The general, particular, circumstantial, minute caution always employed by Junius on all occasions (observes Mr. Barker—preface, p. 19), is employed in respect to Garrick; this viligant circumspection would be exerted by Junius, whether it related to his personal appearance, his epistolary habits, his choice of coffee-houses, chairmen, porters, or messengers, and his handwriting, whether the writing were feigned or real,—it was one uniform, continual, perpetual, eternal, sempiternal system of caution, on which he acted—he was the hundred-eyed Argus, the watchful Cerberus, the fiend-like Monster who guarded his own treasure, his existence depended on his vigilance, and therefore his vigilance never relaxed for a moment."

What success attended these various devices adopted for the purpose of concealment, is best attested by the fact, that the identity of the author of these celebrated Letters remains, even now, after a lapse of nearly seventy years, a problem to be solved.

Mr. R. Fellowes, in a letter dated February 1st, 1827, and addressed to Mr. Barker, says, "I have several times talked with the late Duke of Grafton about the *Letters of Junius*, but if those Letters ever inflamed any resentment in his breast, he had outlived that feeling. He even seemed to have been indifferent to the question of the authorship. I am convinced that he did not attach it to any particular individual. As far as he considered it at all, he considered it problematical."

Mr. Butler remarks, "who is the fortunate possessor of the two Vellum volumes, the Reminiscent knows as little as the rest of the world—but he thinks it was not unknown to the founder of a noble house, to whom the public owes an edition of Homer which does the nation honour."

Of him Junius thus expresses himself: "It is impossible to conceal from ourselves that we are at this moment on the brink of a dreadful precipice; the question is, whether we shall submit to be guided by the hand that hath driven us to it (General Conway), or whether we shall follow the patriot voice (George Grenville's) which would still declare the way to safety and to honour." Thus far Mr. Butler.—Now, who was the editor of this highly extolled edition of Homer? He was *Robert Wood*, Lord Chatham's private secretary. Who was the founder of a noble house to whom the public is indebted for that learned work? It was the grand-nephew of Lady

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Chatham; and places the vellum volumes about where we had long since conjectured they might be found—in the Grenville family.”—*Dr. Waterhouse’s Essay*, p. 379.

On this subject, Mr. Barker says,—“Mr. Taylor cannot in the absence of proof be permitted to define Junius’s motive for ordering the two books to be bound in vellum. Suppose that we could ascertain the fact, that Sir P. Francis’s library contained no such books at the time of his decease? Is Mr. Taylor in that case willing to take the fair inference from his own reasoning, viz. that Sir Philip was not the author of Junius?—But can we not more reasonably imagine that the real motive of Junius for ordering the books was to present them to *his patron*, to the person by whose desire and under whose countenance he was induced to publish the *Letters*? And who can say that the books are not now in the possession of Lord Grenville?”

The latest information given to the public on this interesting subject, is contained in the following paragraph, which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 7th March 1836.—“In the library of the Duke of Buckingham, at Stowe, is deposited a box, containing papers, which are secured with *three seals*, said to be those of the late Marquis of Buckingham, the late Lord Grenville, and the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. The contents of the box are understood to be manuscript letters of, and documents relating to, Junius.”

ON THE SPIRIT AND STYLE OF JUNIUS.

I could enlarge with a particular satisfaction upon the many fine things which SATAN, rummaging his inexhaustible storehouse of Slander, could set down to blacken the character of good men, and load the best princes of the world with infamy and reproach.

De Foe's History of the Devil.

The writings of Junius afford a singular illustration of the excellence and force of the original English language. He employs no latinized words, and has exhibited a full and most forcible style, composed almost entirely of words of Saxon derivation.

Rev. Robert Hall.

CHAPTER IV.

Remarks on the extraordinary spirit of malignity and revenge displayed by Junius against many exalted individuals. — Noticed by Mr. Belsham in his History of England. — Acknowledged by Mr. Woodfall's Editor. — Censured by Atticus Secundus. — Dr. Johnson's character of Junius. — Critiques on the style of Junius: by Dr. Good — Atticus Secundus. — Opinions of Coleridge, Burke, and Burns, on the style of Junius. — Burke's description of the effects produced by the publication of Junius's Letters.

ON THE SPIRIT AND STYLE OF JUNIUS.

——— His breast with raging passions boiled;
Hatred, revenge, and blasphemous despight.

Cumberland.

I quote Junius in English, as I would Tacitus or Livy in Latin. I consider him as a legitimate English classic.

The Author of "Pursuits of Literature."

THE spirit and temper displayed in the Letters of Junius unquestionably present the most formidable obstacle to the discovery of their author, from the difficulty of fixing upon any individual who could be actuated by motives sufficiently powerful to induce him to pursue with such persevering malignity, and almost superhuman energy, the many exalted personages whom Junius has devoted to infamy, or contempt. To contend that such unparalleled rancour exhibits nothing more than the ordinary and legitimate hostility of political warfare, or, that it was merely designed to write down the party then in power, would be to offer an insult to the reader's understanding. Some other reason must therefore be found to account for the phenomenon; for, as Montesquieu justly observes, "In the eyes of men, *actions* are more sincere than *motives*; and it is more easy for them to believe that the *act* of uttering the most cruel invectives is *evil*, than to persuade them that the *motive* which made them utter them is *good*." In the

writings of Junius, the lofty contempt, the bitter irony, the withering sarcasm, the fierce and overwhelming invective of the author, stand out too prominently, and evince too clearly the *spirit of revenge* which influenced his pen, to be veiled by the polished style, the refined taste, or the ostentatious professions of patriotism with which his Letters are embellished. To prove the correctness of Mr. Butler's conclusion, that Junius "had a personal animosity against the King, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Mansfield, from the bitterness of his expressions respecting them;" and, that he was "subject to political prejudices and strong *personal animosities*," as asserted by Dr. Good, it is only necessary to refer to the series of portraits contained in his Letters, in which will be found depicted at full length, the Sovereign and most of his ministers, with spirited sketches of many well-known political, and military characters of the age;* exhibiting all the force and vigour of a master, whose power consisted in "darkening the gloom, and aggravating the dreadful;" and who admirably succeeded in combining the most hideous forms of Fuseli, with the deepest shades of Rembrandt. If Junius ever aimed at any thing like truth of character in his portraits, he has almost realized the legend of the painter Giotto, who having been commissioned by a mysterious stranger to paint a picture according to certain rules by him prescribed, which were to produce a form of perfect beauty, the result of the process presented to the eye of the astonished artist, instead of a face of ideal perfection, the gorgon countenance of—the spouse of Satan. Indeed, any one whose poetical imagination spurned the dull

* See Appendix.

realities of time and place, might assimilate the cabinet ministers of George the Third, as Junius depicts them, with the privy counsellors of another mighty monarch, who, according to Milton, met for deliberation, not in the dingy brick-built palace of St. James, but in a certain gorgeous "fabric huge," which has recently been rendered familiar to mortal ken, by the magic pencil of Martin,

————— from whose arched roof
Pendent by subtle magic many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky. —————

That such a misconception was entertained by some sagacious barrister respecting one, at least, of these portraits, is evident from the answer of "A Friend" of Junius, who corrected the mistake of the learned gentleman, in the following terms:—"We say that Lord Mansfield is a bad man, and a worse Judge—but we did not say that he was a *mere devil*."

It was, however, on the devoted head of the Duke of Grafton that Junius poured forth the principal vials of his indignation and wrath. In a letter, dated August 15, 1771, he gives the following ostensible reasons for his hatred:—"My *detestation* of the Duke of Grafton is not founded upon his treachery to any individual, though I am willing enough to suppose that in public affairs it would be impossible to desert or betray Lord Chatham without doing an essential injury to the country; *my abhorrence* of the Duke arises from *an intimate knowledge of his character*, and from a thorough conviction that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England

than even the unfortunate ambition of Lord Bute." In numerous letters, the Duke is represented as being the most flagitious and degraded of human beings—something not far short of a demon incarnate. So bitter is this display of malignity, that Atticus Secundus makes the following singular remarks on the letter of the 8th July 1769: "In the present letter the sentences flow with more rapidity, as indicating the feelings of one who is in a rage; and, as in the former letter, we seem to see the author *grinning horribly a ghastly smile*—in this, he appears to our imagination in the attitude of a man who is ready to crush, by his uplifted arm, an enemy who is at once the object of his indignation and his spite."

According to Junius's description of his Grace's qualifications, he must have been the identical minister whom our Henry IV. predicted on his death-bed should arise to govern merry England—

"Have you a ruffian that will swear, drink, dance,
Revel the night, rob, murder, and commit
The oldest sins the newest kind of ways;
England shall double-gilt his treble guilt,
England shall give him office, honour, might."

The royal seer, it is true, was somewhat mistaken in his chronology; but that was of little consequence, as the nation could well afford to wait a few centuries for the appearance of so perfect a character.

The marked malignity shewn by Junius to the Duke of Grafton induced Dr. Watson, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, to address a letter to his Grace in the Public Advertiser, on his abandoning the administration in 1775, which contains the following passage: * "If the heart of

* Anecdotes of the Life of Bishop Watson, vol. i. 73. .

Junius be not obstructed by private pique, if malignant habitudes have not rendered him callous to the honourable feelings of a man, he will blush with shame and remorse for having mistaken and traduced your character; he will embrace with eagerness this fair opportunity of retracting his abuse, and candidly portray your Grace to the world in such striking colours of truth and honour as may obliterate from the memory of every ingenuous man the base aspersions of his calumny."

To shew that our views on these points are neither singular nor novel, the reader is here presented with the sentiments of the most eminent critics on the subject.

MR. BELSHAM, whose general principles of politics differed little from those professed by Junius, mentions in his *History of England* the first appearance of the Letters in these words:—"Amidst the innumerable multitude of political publications, in which the conduct of the present administration was arraigned in the bitterest terms of severity, the national attention was particularly attracted by a series of letters appearing under the signature of Junius, and written in a style so masterly as to be generally deemed, in point of composition, equal to any literary production in the English language. They consisted, however, of little else than splendid declamation and poignant invective, and discovered a cool, deliberate malignity of disposition which, now the passions and follies of the day have vanished, and given place to other passions and other follies, must excite disgust at least proportionate to our admiration."

DR. JOHNSON, in his thoughts respecting "Falkland Islands," thus characterizes this writer:—"Of Junius, it cannot be said, as of Ulysses, that he scatters ambiguous

expressions among the vulgar, for he cries havoc without reserve, and endeavours to let slip the dogs of foreign or of civil war, ignorant whither they are going, and careless what may be their prey. Junius has sometimes made his satire felt; but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigour of the bow. He has sometimes sported with lucky malice; but to him who knows his company, it is not hard to be sarcastic in a mask. While he walks like Jack-the-Giant-killer in a coat of darkness, he may do much mischief with little strength. Novelty captivates the superficial, and thoughtless; vehemence delights the discontented and turbulent. He that contradicts acknowledged truth, will always have an audience;—he that vilifies established authority, will always find abettors. Junius burst into notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before; and drew the rabble after him, as a monster makes a show: when he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secresy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice, enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has had the art of persuading when he seconded desire; as a reasoner, he has convinced those who had no doubt before; as a moralist, he has taught that virtue may disgrace; and as a patriot, he has gratified the mean by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abstract from his wit the vivacity of insolence, and withdraw from his efficacy the sympathetic favour of

plebeian malignity,—I do not say that we shall leave him nothing; the cause that I defend scorns the help of falsehood; but if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praise? It is not by his liveliness of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of allusion, that he detains the cits of London, and the boors of Middlesex. Of style and sense they take no cognizance. They admire him for virtues like their own—for contempt of order and violence of outrage, for rage of defamation and audacity of falsehood. The supporters of the Bill of Rights feel no niceties of composition, nor dexterities of sophistry—their faculties are better proportioned to the bawl of Bellas, or barbarity of Beckford; but they are told that Junius is on their side, and they are therefore sure that Junius is infallible. Those who know not whither he would lead them, resolve to follow him; and those who cannot find his meaning, hope he means rebellion.

“Junius is an unusual phenomenon, on which some have gazed with wonder and some with terror; but wonder and terror are transitory passions. He will soon be more closely viewed, or more attentively examined; and what folly has taken for a comet, that from its flaming hair shook pestilence and war, inquiry will find to be only a meteor formed by the vapours of putrefying democracy, and kindled into flame by the effervescence of interest struggling with conviction, which, after having plunged its followers in a bog, will leave us inquiring why we regarded it.

“Yet, though I cannot think the style of Junius secure from criticism, though his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him

where he has placed himself, had I not rated him by his morals rather than his faculties. What, says Pope, must be the priest, where a monkey is the god? What must be the drudge of a party, of which the heads are Wilkes and Crosby, Sawbridge and Townsend?"

Speaking of the *STYLE* of Junius, Mr. Woodfall's Editor says (p. 89)—"The distinguishing features of his style are ardour, spirit, perspicuity, classical correctness, sententious, epigrammatic compression; his characteristic ornaments, keen, indignant invective; audacious interrogation; shrewd, severe, antithetic retort; proud, presumptuous disdain of the powers of his adversary; pointed and appropriate allusions, that can never be mistaken, but are often overcharged, and at times perhaps totally unfounded; similes introduced, not for the purpose of decoration, but of illustration and energy—brilliant, burning, admirably selected, and irresistible in their application. In his similes, however, he is once or twice too recondite; and in his grammatical construction still more frequently incorrect.

"His metaphors are peculiarly brilliant, and so numerous, though seldom unnecessarily introduced, as to render it difficult to know where to fix in selecting a few examples. The following are ably managed, and require no explanation:—"The ministry, it seems, are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown and the rights of the people. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse, for, in effect, both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry purpose to make of it. The king's honour is that of his people. Their *real* honour and *real* interest are the same. I am not con-

tending for a vain punctilio—private credit is wealth; public honour is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.’ Again: ‘Above all things, let me guard my countrymen against the meanness and folly of accepting of a trifling or moderate compensation for extraordinary and essential injuries. Concessions, such as these, are of little moment to the sum of things, unless it be to prove, that the worst of men are sensible of the injuries they have done us, and perhaps to demonstrate to us the imminent danger of our situation. In the shipwreck of the state, trifles float and are preserved, while everything solid and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost for ever.’ Once more: ‘The very sunshine you live in, is a prelude to your dissolution. When you are ripe, you shall be plucked.’ The commencement of his letter to Lord Camden shall furnish another instance: ‘I turn with pleasure from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification.”

We now present the reader with the more elaborate critique of *ATTICUS SECUNDUS* on the style of Junius: —“The studied energy and great compression of his language are the first qualities that will strike the reader who has just entered on the perusal of Junius. There is not only no superfluous sentence, but there is no superfluous word in any of his sentences. He seems, in fact, to have aimed at this quality with the greatest care; and as it was suited to the style and character of his mode of thinking, it was also most happily accommodated to the high attitude which he assumed, as the satirist and judge

not of ordinary men or common authors, but of the most elevated and distinguished personages and institutions of his country; of a person who seemed to feel himself called on to treat majesty itself with perfect freedom, and before whom the supreme wisdom and might of the great councils of the state stood rebuked and in fear.

“We should form an erroneous idea of Junius, however, if, from this energy and simplicity of the style imputed to him, we should imagine that he is therefore an argumentative writer. The slow processes of reason would have been as unsuitable to the grandeur of his office, as the tedious march of ordinary language. As it was beautifully remarked of another mind of the same order, ‘he lightens rather than reasons on his subject;’ he throws out flashes from his mind that enable others to see to a greater extent and with a purer vision than they had ever seen before; instead of condescending to offer a reason for his opinions, he trusts for their reception to the evidence with which his masterly words surround them; and when he has fixed the attention of his reader on some distinction that has been overlooked, or some constitutional principle that was neglected, he seems to take it for granted that, when stated in the language which he has employed, and urged with the vigour which he has put forth, there is *no* mind which must not see their importance, and no heart that must not assent to their value.

“The power of Junius, however, in stating general truths, is extremely different from that of Burke. The writings of this last author are replete with maxims, in which the substance of volumes is frequently compressed within a very narrow space; but these maxims have, on

this very account, a generality and comprehension which enable them to be applied to many different things; they are expressions of results, which the mind of the author had derived from a wide survey of all human knowledge and human occupations; and resemble those general laws, according to which the infinite variety of Nature's operations is conducted. Junius has no such comprehensive range of view, but he darts his eye upon a single point, and light and evidence seem to proceed from his glance; he carries illumination as far as within that space it can be carried; or, if he sometimes gives a false or distorted view of the objects which it embraces, it is always, however, such a view as shews his object in vivid colours, and gives a high idea of the power that hath enlightened it.

“We apprehend, however, that there is none of all the powers which Junius has displayed, that is so peculiarly and entirely his own as his power of sarcasm. Other authors deal occasionally in this article; but, whenever Junius rises to his highest sphere, he assumes the air of a being who delights to taunt and to mock his adversary; he refuses to treat him as a person who should be seriously dealt with, and pours out his contempt or indignation under an imposing affectation of deference and respect. His talent for sarcasm too, is of the finest kind, it is so carefully but so poignantly exerted, that it is necessary to watch his words to perceive all the satire which they contain; we have thus an impression that the author is only speaking in his natural style when he is employing a mode of annoyance which it requires the utmost address and skill to manage, but when his irony is perceived, it strikes like a poniard, and the wound which it

makes is such as cannot be closed. There is, indeed, no author with whom we are acquainted who possesses this quality in the same perfection, or who has exerted it with the same effect; and we are of opinion, that as it was this peculiarity which originally gave to his writings their astonishing influence, it still continues to be the quality by which they are most remarkably distinguished from all other compositions."

The following are the brief sentiments of several eminent men on the same subject. Mr. Coleridge was of opinion, that "The style of Junius is a sort of metre, the law of which is a balance of thesis and antithesis. When he gets out of this aphorismic metre into a sentence of five or six lines long, *nothing can exceed the slovenliness of the English*. Horne Tooke and a long sentence seem the only two antagonists that were too much for him. Still the antithesis of Junius is a real antithesis of images or thought; but the antithesis of Johnson is rarely more than verbal."—*Table Talk*, vol. ii. 213.

Mr. Butler says, that on one occasion he remarked to Edmund Burke, "a very strong expression in one of Junius's Letters, and intimated that it might bring him under the fangs of the law. Mr. Burke said, 'Junius was an impertinent fellow.' Mr. Burke appeared to use the expression in the tone of one who disapproved of Junius's writings, and did not greatly value them. Mr. Gibbon appeared to me not to admire his style as much as it was admired by the public in general, and he told me that Mr. Fox thought slightly of it."

From a letter written by Dugald Stewart respecting Burns, we may collect the sentiments of these two eminent men, on the style of Junius.

“In judging of prose, I do not think,” says Dugald Stewart, “that Burns’ taste was equally sound. I once read to him a passage or two in Franklin’s works, which I thought very happily executed upon the model of Addison, but he did not appear to relish or to perceive the beauty which they derived from their exquisite simplicity, and spoke of them with indifference when compared with the point, and antithesis, and quaintness of Junius.”

Some notion may be formed of the effect produced on the public mind by the Letters of Junius, from a speech delivered by Mr. Burke in the House of Commons, in which he says, “How comes this Junius to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the Court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you. No, they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But, what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my own part, when I saw his attack upon the king, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit. It was the *rancour and venom*, with which I was struck. In these respects, the North Briton is as much inferior to him, as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected in this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament.

Yes, he did make *you* his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouch, and still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded the terrors of *your* brow, sir; he has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our royal eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, Lords, and Commons, are but the sport of his fury. Were he a member of this House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity, nor could promises, nor threats, induce him to conceal anything from the public.”

The Speaker of the House of Commons, thus apostrophised by Burke, was Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards Lord Grantley, whose amiable qualities have been preserved to future ages (like insects embalmed in amber) in the pages of Junius, who characterises him as the very lawyer described by Ben Jonson in the following lines—

Gives forked counsel, takes provoking gold
On either hand, and puts it up.
So wise, so grave, of so perplex'd a tongue,
And loud withal, that would not wag, nor scarce
Lie still, without a fee.

THE FALSE JUNIUSES.

“Who and what art thou?” a nation said.

“For THAT you may consult my title-page,”

Replied this mighty ‘shadow of a shade;’

“If I have kept my secret half an age,
I scarce shall tell it now.”——

Lord Byron.

But, after all, who or what was JUNIUS? *This shadow of a name*, who thus shot his unerring arrows from an impenetrable concealment, and punished without being perceived? The question is natural; and it has been repeated almost without intermission, from the appearance of his first letter. It is not unnatural, moreover, from the pertinacity with which he has at all times eluded discovery, that the vanity of many political writers of inferior talents should have induced them to lay an indirect claim to his Letters, and especially after the danger of responsibility had considerably ceased. Yet, while the Editor does not undertake to communicate the real name of JUNIUS, he pledges himself to prove from incontrovertible evidence, afforded by the private letters of Junius himself, during the period in question, in connexion with other documents, that *not one of these pretenders* has ever had the smallest right to the distinction which some of them have ardently coveted.

Dr. Good's Prelim. Essay, p. 9.

CHAPTER V.

Names of the principal Persons to whom the Letters of Junius have been attributed.—Reason given by the Critics for concluding that Junius must have been an Irishman.—Some account of the false Juniuses.—Edmund Burke.—William Gerard Hamilton.—Hugh Macaulay Boyd.—Richard Glover.—General Charles Lee.—The Earl of Chesterfield.—William Greatrakes.—Lachlan Macleane.—Earl of Chatham.—Curious theory of a Reviewer respecting Junius.—*Jeu d'esprit*, entitled Junius *with his Vizor up*.—Lord Byron's hypothesis.—Anxiety of the friends of the different pretenders to disclaim the malignant spirit shewn by Junius.—The competitors reduced to three individuals; viz. Lord George Sackville, Sir Philip Francis, and Mr. Charles Lloyd.

THE FALSE JUNIUSES.

I think there be six Richmonds in the field,
Five have I slain to day instead of him.

Shakspeare.

HAVING satisfactorily shewn that Junius could not have been an author by profession, a lawyer, or a divine, it becomes unnecessary to notice the pretensions of such of the claimants as belong to any of these professions,—we shall therefore proceed to consider the claims of the other principal candidates.

It may, however, in the first place, be proper to mention, that the Letters of Junius have at various times been attributed to Lord George Sackville, Edmund Burke, William Gerard Hamilton, the Duke of Portland, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Chatham, Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford, Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, Charles Lloyd, secretary to Mr. George Grenville, John Roberts, a clerk in the Treasury, the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, the American General Lee, John Wilkes, Henry Flood, Richard Glover, the author of Leonidas, Hugh Macaulay Boyd, Samuel Dyer, Dr. Wilmot, and lastly Sir Philip Francis, with many others of less note.

On perusing the above list, it will be observed, that several of the aspirants are natives of the Emerald Isle, and the pertinacity with which their claims in particular

have been advocated, is rather remarkable. This appears somewhat singular when we find Junius has expressly, and repeatedly declared that he was *an Englishman*. Without some consideration, one might be inclined to suspect, that such ardent aspirations after laurels so hopeless, could only proceed from a certain confusion of ideas, which has been considered peculiar to the natives of that country. The apparent anomaly may, however, be thus accounted for: a vague, but very general suspicion has been rife from the first appearance of the Letters, that their author would ultimately prove to be a native of Ireland,—this suspicion is founded on the minute, and extensive knowledge displayed by Junius, of Irish families and affairs, combined with certain peculiarities in the diction, and phraseology of the Letters themselves, which seem to indicate that the author was an Irishman, or at least, had been educated in the University of Dublin. For instance, in one of his letters in reply to Mr. Horne, Junius uses the word COLLEGIAN for an academic or gownsman, which is the term used in the University of Dublin, but not at either Oxford or Cambridge; and from this it has been inferred, that he could not have been a member of either of the English universities.

On this point Dr. Good remarks (Preliminary Essay, p. 88): “Of those who have critically analyzed the style of Junius’s compositions, some have pretended to prove that he must necessarily have been of Irish descent, or Irish education, from the peculiarity of his idioms: while to shew how little dependence is to be placed upon any such observations, others have equally pretended to prove, from a similar investigation, that he could not have been a native either of Scotland or Ireland, nor have studied

in any university of either of these countries. The fact is, that there are a few phraseologies in his Letters *peculiar to himself*, such as occur in the compositions of all original writers of great force and genius, but which are neither indicative of any particular race, nor referable to any provincial dialect."

Mr. Barker, on the contrary, says (p. 56), "Junius was so universally suspected to be an *Irishman*, or of Irish descent, that any attempt to prove it from his writings would be unnecessary for our present purpose."

A writer, who signs himself *Oxoniensis*, mentions some of Junius's *Hibernicisms*. We shall quote one paragraph from his letter, chiefly for the sake of the proof it brings that Junius, whoever he might be, was a member of the University of Dublin:—"Edmund Burke received his education amongst the Irish Jesuits at St. Omer's, and finished his studies in Ireland. If any one will take the trouble of reading over the Letters of Junius, he will find that Edmund, notwithstanding all his care and pains, sometimes falls into *Hibernicisms*. In one place, he says, '*make common cause.*' This is not English, though to be sure the phrase is common enough in Dublin. In Junius's letter of the 13th of August, he talks of '*the sophistries of a collegian.*' This expression is not English; and the word *collegian* is never used in this sense, except in the College of Dublin and (perhaps) of St. Omer's. We say, indeed, *fellow-collegian*; but at the great schools here, those of the college are called *collegers*; and at our two universities, the members of a college are called *gownsmen*; at Dublin they are called *collegians*." Though *Oxoniensis* was wrong in his suspicion of Mr. Burke, his arguments to prove that Junius was, in his sense of the word, a *collegian*, are worthy of attention.

“The use of the term *collegian*, for *academic* or *gownsmen*,” further observes Mr. Barker (p. 53), “places the fact of Irish birth, or Irish education beyond a doubt. I consider the argument to be most unsuspicious, and I therefore expect the decided assent of the reader to its truth. The use of a term peculiar to the University of Dublin is not to be explained away as a ‘phraseology in his letters *peculiar to Junius himself*,’ because it is not peculiar to himself, but common to all who have been educated in the Irish university. It is not ‘referable to any provincial dialect’ of England it is true, but it is ‘referable to the’ national ‘dialect of’ Ireland, which is a province of the United Kingdom; and it is ‘indicative of a particular race’ of men, viz. the children of St. Patrick. This is not to be classed among ‘phraseologies such as occur in the compositions of all original writers of great force and genius;’ for it is either properly used by Junius, if an Irishman, or educated at the University of Dublin (and it then ceases to be ‘a peculiar phraseology’ of Junius), or else, improperly used by Junius if he was not an Irishman, or not educated in Trinity College Dublin; and so glaring and ridiculous a blunder cannot be assigned to the pen of an English ‘original writer of great force and genius.’ ‘Phraseologies which occur in such compositions’ are to be distinguished from blunders and improprieties: they are novel, but not incorrect modes of expression; indicating in their meaning the peculiar feelings, sentiments, thoughts, circumstances, or situation of the writer, and displaying in their structure a striking peculiarity of language, formed for the very purpose of either communicating new ideas in new terms, or clothing old notions in new terms, because

those new terms please the writer in his love of variety, or more clearly define what he wishes to convey to the mind of the reader."

Mr. Roche also remarks, "That Junius, writing to Lord North of Colonel Luttrell, says:—'I protest, my Lord, there is in this young man's conduct a strain of prostitution, which for its singularity I cannot but admire. He has discovered a new line in the human character—he has degraded even the name of *Luttrell*, and gratified his father's most sanguine expectations.' In the words, 'he has degraded even the name of *Luttrell*,' there is an allusion which no Englishman understands, and a severity therefore which he cannot perceive. The name of *Luttrell* in several parts of Ireland is synonymous with the words *traitor* or *betrayed*, owing to a tradition which prevails there among the people, that it was on account of the treachery of an officer of the name of *Luttrell*, and of the same family, that King James lost the battle of the Boyne. Without such an explanation as this, the words of Junius are unintelligible; and as it was not possible for him to become acquainted with this traditional fact, or with the proverbial use of the word *Luttrell*—in some parts of Ireland to signify a traitor—from any written or printed publication, it is clear that he must have been an Irishman." "I think," says Mr. Barker, "that Mr. Roche is, for the reason assigned, right in his conclusion; and I have already assigned other reasons for the same opinion."

Among the "false Juniuses," one of the most illustrious names is unquestionably that of EDMUND BURKE, on whom (with only one exception) the earliest suspicion rested, but it is difficult to say for what reason, except his being

an Irishman, and the general eminence of his literary and political character; and Mr. Butler urges the following reasons against his claim:—"Those who knew the very lofty notions which Mr. Burke entertained of himself, and his own ministerial powers and qualifications, must think it impossible that he should have written the line, 'I accept a simile from Burke—a sarcasm from Barrè.' Those, too, who knew the labour which any literary exertions cost Mr. Burke, his endless blots, emendations, and transcriptions, and ultimately his private impressions, still blotted, and still amended, must be sensible how irreconcilable all this is with the fecundity and rapidity of Junius. Add to this, that on several most important points Burke and Junius were in direct opposition to each other. Burke was a partizan of Lord Rockingham, Junius of George Grenville. On the Stamp Act, on Triennial Parliaments, they were completely at variance. Junius attached much importance to city politics; in these Burke never appeared." — *Butler's Reminis.* i. 90.

To these strong arguments is to be added the fact, that in 1784 Burke instituted a prosecution against Woodfall, the printer of Junius's Letters, for a libellous article which had appeared against him in the Public Advertiser, and pursued it to a verdict with the utmost acrimony.

It is also to be observed, that the believers in the claim put forth for Burke had not even the *ignis fatuus* of a supposed similarity of style between his writings, and the compositions of Junius, to light them to their conclusion. On this point we shall present the reader with no mean authority—that of the late Rev. Robert Hall, with whom Professor Gregory had the following conversation on the

subject: "Junius's Letters," says Mr. Gregory, "were mentioned. After much speculation as to the author from various persons, some one cited Dr. Johnson's remark, that none except Edmund Burke could have written them. Mr. Hall remarked: 'Burke certainly could *not* have written them. The style of the two authors is too opposite for any one to believe them identical. The talent of Junius shews itself in condensation and brevity; Burke's forte is amplification. Junius is cool and deliberate; Burke was impassioned and energetic. Junius is remarkable for his caustic satire; Burke for rampant and vehement abuse. The diction of Burke is modern and latinized, while the writings of Junius afford a singular illustration of the excellence and force of the original English language. The man who could write as Burke did, could not so disguise his style as to bring it to any continued similarity to that of Junius. The character of the men, too, was essentially different. There is no generosity in Junius. His caustic satire was in character like that of Horne Tooke, whose very calmness was irresistible, yet no thinking man identifies Junius with Tooke.'"—*Dr. Gregory's Life of Robert Hall*, p. 237.

"But there is an argument," says Mr. Barker, (p. 132) "against Burke's claim which has never yet been brought forward I believe, and which is of so decisive a character that I would hang by this solitary rock, and bid defiance to every assailant. There was in the mind of Mr. Burke a radical principle of philanthropy, a pervading principle of benevolence; it was conspicuous alike in his actions and in his speeches; his heart was full of generous affections, he breathed peace on earth and good-will

towards man. I do not deny, that in indulging this god-like propensity of his nature he was sometimes hurried into intemperate language, and borne away by the tide of passion; this merely demonstrated the infirmity of human virtue, but it proved the sincerity and the zeal with which he contended for the rights of outraged nations, and pleaded the cause of suffering man. Nature soon recovered her possession, and reason soon resumed her seat, and goodness soon regained her throne. The uncharitable feeling existed but for the moment—a lightning too transient to disturb the general serenity of his breast; the bolt might terrify, but did not strike its object; the flame burnt around, but did not consume its victim; it was displayed and was gone; it sparkled and was exhaled. As an accuser, his power was truly terrific, he has exhausted the whole compass of the English language in the fierceness of his invective, and the bitterness of his censure; for even Junius, with all the advantages of indiscriminate personality, private scandal, and the mask under which he fought, has not exceeded him in severity, while he falls infinitely short of him in reach of thought, command of language, energy of expression, and variety of reproach. Junius is more pungent in his assaults; Mr. Burke more powerful. Junius imparts the idea of keenness; Mr. Burke of force. Junius of possessing powers to a certain degree circumscribed; Mr. Burke of a magnitude nearly boundless. Junius hews down his victim with a double-edged sabre; Mr. Burke fells him with a sledge hammer, and repeats his blows so often, and in so many different modes, that few can again recognize the carcass he has once taken in hand to mangle."

It is, however, now known with certainty that the suspicions with regard to Burke were unfounded, for upon his being questioned by Sir William Draper, he *positively denied the imputed authorship*; and it appears that he made a similar confession to his friend Dr. Johnson; for Boswell informs us, that talking with Johnson of the wonderful concealment of the author of the celebrated Letters signed Junius, the Doctor said, "I should have believed Burke to be Junius, because I know no man but Burke who is capable of writing these Letters; *but Burke spontaneously denied it to me.* The case would have been different had I asked him if he was the author; a man so questioned as to an anonymous publication may think he has a right to deny it." On this subject, Boswell on another occasion says, "We talked of the casuistical question, whether it was allowable at any time to depart from truth? *Johnson*: The general rule is, that truth should never be violated, because it is of the utmost importance to the conduct of life that we should have a full security by mutual faith, and occasional inconvenience should be willingly suffered, that we may preserve it. There must, however, be some exceptions. *Boswell*: Supposing the person who wrote Junius were asked whether he was the author, might he deny it? *Johnson*: I don't know what to say to this. If you were *sure* that he wrote *Junius*, would you, if he denied it, think as well of him afterwards? Yet it may be urged that what a man has no right to ask, you may refuse to communicate; and there is no other effectual mode of preserving a secret, and an important secret, the discovery of which may be very hurtful to you, but a *flat denial*; for if you are silent, or hesitate, or evade, it

will be held equivalent to a confession. But stay, Sir, here is another case. Supposing the author had told me confidentially that he had written Junius, and I were asked if he had, I should hold myself at liberty to deny it, as being under a previous promise, express or implied, to conceal it. Now, what I ought to do for the author, may I not do for myself."—*Boswell's Johnson*, iv. 296.

The next claimant in point of literary and political reputation is WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON, who was also a distinguished member of parliament for many years, and wrote a book, which was published after his decease, called "Parliamentary Logic," the design of which seems to have been to teach unfledged senators the most approved tactics of the House of Commons, and how any independent member of the legislature might conscientiously speak, or vote, on either side of every question brought before the House.

The principal reason for the Letters having been attributed to Hamilton was, that on a certain morning he told the Duke of Richmond the substance of a letter of Junius, which he pretended to have just read in the Public Advertiser, but which, on consulting the paper was not found there, an apology for its postponement till the next day being inserted in its stead, when the letter thus previously adverted to by Hamilton, actually made its appearance. That Hamilton, therefore, had a previous knowledge of the existence and purport of this letter is unquestionable; but these facts may be accounted for, by supposing him to have had it read to him by his friend Mr. Woodfall, antecedently to its being printed.

Another ground of suspicion seems to have been founded on the fallacious test of a supposed similarity of

style between his acknowledged writings, and those of Junius. Hamilton accompanied Lord Halifax as chief secretary, when his lordship was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, while Mr. Richard Cumberland held the secondary post of Ulster secretary; and the two secretaries were called in to consider, and settle the draft of the Lord Lieutenant's first speech to the Irish parliament, which his lordship had himself prepared. The scribes, as might be expected, disagreed about this delicate operation, and his lordship with two secretaries at his command, was under the necessity of taking that office upon himself, and obliged not only to compose, but to polish and settle, his own speech. The scene is thus described by Cumberland:—"When I was called in jointly with Secretary Hamilton to take the project and rough copy of this speech into consideration, I could not help remarking the extraordinary efforts which that gentleman made to engraft his own *very peculiar style* upon the sketch before him; in this I sometimes agreed with him, but more commonly opposed him, till Lord Halifax, whose patience began to be exhausted, no longer submitted his copy to be dissected, but took it to himself with such alterations as he saw fit to adopt, and those but few. I must candidly acknowledge that at times, when I have heard people searching for internal evidence in the style of Junius, as to the author of those famous Letters, I have called to recollection this circumstance which I have now related, and occasionally said, that the style of Junius bore a strong resemblance to what I had observed of the style of Secretary Hamilton; beyond this I never had the least grounds for conjecture, nor any clue to lead me to the discovery of that anonymous writer beyond what I have alluded to."—*Cumberland's Memoirs*, i. 17.

Mr. Hamilton obtained the cognomen of *Single Speech Hamilton*, from the circumstance of his having delivered one brilliant speech in the English parliament, and ever afterwards remaining silent: but most uncertain is the breath of fame, and hard is the lot of orators and literary adventurers, for if they display a fertile and prolific genius, the good-natured world declares it absurd to expect distinguished excellence where quantity is so abundant; and should they belong to the same class as Hamilton, who concentrate all their energies, and exhaust half a life in bringing to perfection one *chef d'œuvre*, and then rest from their labours, the public, after a while, is generally seized with an unaccountable fit of scepticism. It was said that "Garth did not write his own Dispensary," and so it fared with Single Speech Hamilton—his whole glory rested on a single speech, which the incredulous world would not believe to be his own, but like the insidious Imp in Hogarth's print of Paul before Felix, endeavoured to cut away the only prop that upheld his fame: this gave rise to the following scene, which is related by Major Head in his *Life of Bruce the traveller*.

"Single Speech Hamilton was first cousin to Bruce, and one evening, at Kinnard, he said: 'Bruce! to convince the world of your power of drawing, you need only draw us now something in as good a style as those drawings of yours, which *they say* have been done for you by Bulugani, your Italian artist.' 'Gerard!' replied Bruce very gravely, 'you made *one* fine speech, and the world doubted its being your own composition, but if you will stand up now here, and make another speech as good, we will believe it to be your own.'"

The air of Dublin, however, seems to have been more

favourable to Hamilton's powers, than that of Westminster, for it is reported, that he made not less than five speeches in the Irish Parliament in the single session of 1761-2; but all his speeches were not only prepared, but studied with a minuteness and exactitude, of which those who are accustomed only to the carelessness of modern debating can scarcely form an idea. Lord Charlemont, who had been long and intimately acquainted with him, used to mention, that he was the only speaker of whom he could say with certainty, that all his speeches, however long, were written and got by heart. A gentleman well known to his Lordship and Hamilton, assured him that he heard Hamilton repeat no less than three times an oration which he afterwards spoke in the House of Commons, and which lasted almost three hours. As a debater, therefore, he became as useless to his political patrons as Addison was to Lord Sunderland, and if possible he was more scrupulous in composition than even that eminent man. Addison would stop the press to correct the most trifling error in a large publication, and Hamilton would recal the footman, if on recollection any word was in his opinion misplaced or improper, in the slightest note to a familiar acquaintance. Yet this weigher of words and balancer of sentences was most easy and agreeable in conversation. He passed his time (except with unnecessary anxiety as to his literary fame) unembarrassed and cheerful among a few select friends. Dr. Johnson highly valued him, and was never slow or reluctant to acknowledge his superior talents, and the generosity of his disposition. Lord Charlemont was the person who first introduced Edmund Burke to Hamilton, which led to Burke's subsequent fortune.

Mr. Malone states that when a friend of Hamilton's, for the purpose of drawing him out, affected to think him the author of Junius's Letters, and bantering him on the subject, taxed him with the passage in which the Duke of Grafton is said to have "travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the *scorpion* in which he stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a *virgin* of the house of Bedford, etc." Hamilton, with great vehemence, exclaimed, "Had I written such a sentence as that, I should have thought I had forfeited all pretensions to good taste in composition for ever." And in a conversation on the same subject, he once said to an intimate friend in a tone between seriousness and pleasantry, "You know I could have written *better* papers than those of Junius." Mr. Malone also argues that Hamilton could not be the author, as "he had none of that *minute and commissariat knowledge of petty military matters* which is displayed in some of the letters. Near the time of his death, Hamilton is said to have made a *solemn declaration* that he was *not* Junius.

Another pretender, whose claim at one time was urged with great confidence, and made much noise in the literary circles, was HUGH MACAULAY BOYD; and upwards of twenty pages of Dr. Good's "Preliminary Essay," are devoted to the demolition of his pretensions; but, as we think this has been most effectually accomplished, it appears unnecessary to say more about him, especially as Mr. Butler also declares that, "As to Macaulay Boyd's being the author of Junius's Letters, it is a *perfect joke*, no two characters can be more perfectly unlike than Boyd and Junius. Boyd was a good-natured lively man, famous for repeating Lord Chatham and Burke's speeches, and always bustling

about something or another, I remember very well, the infinite pains he took to persuade the world that the Perreaus were innocent. He must have been very young when Junius's Letters were written; all who knew him, must think the notion of his being the author of Junius's Letters too absurd for discussion."—*Reminis.* i. 84.

"To support the pretensions of RICHARD GLOVER," Mr. Butler remarks, "no evidence is adduced, except that something of the high Whig principles of Junius is discoverable in the volume which has been published of 'Glover's Memoirs,' and that Glover is known to have lived in an elevated line of society, in which these principles were professed. This evidence amounts to little, and the style of his Memoirs is very unlike that of Junius."

The American General CHARLES LEE has also found advocates to urge his claim to the authorship of the Letters, founded on a statement made by a Mr. Rodney in an American periodical work, called 'The Wilmington Mirror.' According to this account, General Lee communicated in confidence to a friend, the important secret of his being the author of the Letters, and Dr. Girdlestone of Yarmouth, Norfolk, has endeavoured to establish the General's pretensions, by a comparison of Rodney's statement with Mr. Longworthy's Memoirs of the General's life, in a pamphlet published anonymously, under the title of 'Reasons for rejecting the presumptive evidence of Mr. Almon, that Hugh Boyd was the writer of Junius, with passages selected to prove the real author of the Letters of Junius.'

"General Lee," observes Mr. Barker, (p. 43), "had the requisite ardour of mind and the leisure, but wanted

the spirit of industry, admitted to have been indispensably necessary for Junius." Dr. Good, in his 'Preliminary Essay,' seems most satisfactorily to have proved, that General Lee was rambling over the North of Europe during the period that the Letters of Junius were written, and, consequently, could not possibly have been their author. He also shews that the line of politics professed by the two characters was very different.

The polite EARL of CHESTERFIELD has likewise been pointed out as the author of the Letters; but on no other authority, that we can discover, than the internal evidence afforded by the following elegant compliment passed by the gallant Junius on the fair sex, in his letter to Lord Mansfield:—"Women, and men like women, are timid, vindictive, and irresolute. Their passions counteract each other, and make the same *creature* at one moment *hateful*, at another *contemptible*."

The Gentleman's Magazine for December 1813, contains the following letter, starting a new and before unknown candidate:—"Mr. Urban, have the seekers after Junius ever heard of Mr. WILLIAM GREATRAKES, born in the barony of Imokilly, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, about the year 1725? One who was his friend, and who states his conviction, in common with others who knew him well, that this Greatrakes was the author of the Letters of Junius, has permitted me to note down the following particulars relating to him:—Mr. Greatrakes was bred to the law, and called at the usual period to the Irish bar. After practising a few years, he quitted that profession; and after becoming an officer, signalized himself again as a barrister, by undertaking the defence of a friendless soldier upon a trial for a capital offence. This

circumstance led to an acquaintance with the judge, that to an introduction to the then lord lieutenant, and soon finally to an intimacy with Lord Shelbourne, in whose house he was an inmate during the publication of the Letters of Junius. He then became an half-pay officer, and about 1779 retired to a small property of his own in the neighbourhood of Youghall. Here he was engaged in continual writing, and much correspondence with his friend Lord Shelbourne. He died at some place in Wiltshire, on his way to London. During his illness, he sent for his executor, a Captain Stopford, who had been in the 63rd regiment of foot, and deposited many papers in his hands. Enclosed you have his autograph, cut from a book in his possession. It certainly appears to bear a strong resemblance to most of the specimens in Woodfall's new edition; and if the preceding narration turns out to be in substance materially correct, it may induce those who believe that Junius employed an amanuensis to confer that honour on William Greatrakes, Esq. By the description of his figure, I am sorry to find that he would not answer for the tall gentleman with the bagwig and white coat, who, by the account of Mr. Jackson, managed the conveyancing branch of the department—'one of the pack.'"

In a note to this letter, the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine informs us, that he has been assured Mr. Greatrakes died at the Bear Inn, Hungerford, and that a flat stone in the churchyard is thus inscribed:—

"Here are deposited the remains of William Greatrakes, Esq.
 a Native of Ireland, who, on his way from Bristol,
 died in this town, in the 52nd year of his age,
 on the 2nd day of August 1791.
 Stat Nominis Umbra."

The same number of the Magazine has in its second plate an engraving of the autograph, to which the preceding letter refers, and a specimen of the handwriting of the real Junius from Mr. Woodfall's edition; but Mr. Butler could not discover much resemblance between them.—The same Magazine, for July 1813, contains a letter detailing a conversation which Sir Richard Phillips had with Lord Shelbourne, then Lord Lansdowne, on the subject of Junius. He represents his Lordship as scouting the notion that Boyd was the author of the Letters, and makes his Lordship say—"I knew Junius, and I know all about the writing and production of those letters. If I live over the summer, which however I do not expect, I promise you a very interesting pamphlet about Junius: I will set the question at rest for ever."—The perusal of these letters induced Mr. Butler to make some inquiries respecting the gentleman to whom the first letter relates; and he ascertained that a gentleman of the name, family, and occupation, mentioned in that letter, did exist; that he died on a journey from Bristol to London; that he was known both to the late Lord Chatham and Mr. Charles Fox; that his name was mentioned among those who were first surmised to be authors of the Letters of Junius; that his family ascribed those Letters to him; and that one of his surviving nieces on being shewn the fac-simile of Junius's handwriting, expressed herself by letter in these words—"As to the fac-simile, the hand struck me at once as being my uncle's; but that is more studied, as my uncle's was more sloping, which I suppose is owing to this being stamped" (engraven).

Although Ireland has made many strenuous efforts to

appropriate Junius to herself, no such attempt was made by Scotland until very recently. This will excite little surprise, when it is considered, that Junius was clearly entitled to the compliment which Dr. Johnson intended to pay his friend Bathurst when he called him "a good hater;" and if Junius hated one person more than another, or had any special and innate antipathy to any individual, it certainly was—a Scotsman; for, in alluding to Mr. Wedderburn, he says—"I speak tenderly of this gentleman, for when treachery is in question, I think we should make allowances for a Scotchman."

The crimes of disowning his country and calumniating the most illustrious of his countrymen are (to his honour be it spoken) unknown to a North Briton; on the contrary, gentlemen of that nation are generally supposed to be always ready to make up any little differences among themselves, whenever the honour of their country is at stake, and to act on the principle of the unsophisticated Highlander, who, upon hearing a person declare that he would stand by his friend when he was in the right, expressed his indignation at the lukewarm sentiment, and declared his resolution to stand by a friend at all times, right or wrong. With such patriotic feelings it would be preposterous to suppose that Junius could possibly have been a Scotsman; and yet the following paragraphs appeared, during the year 1837, in the *Inverness Courier*:—"A gentleman has obligingly pointed out to us a passage in Galt's *Life of Mr. West*, the distinguished painter, which supplies another link in the chain of evidence connecting Junius's Letters with LACHLAN MACLEANE: it will materially assist the inquiry now in progress by Sir David Brewster, who was led

to adopt the opinion of Macleane being Junius, from a series of private letters written by that gentleman, which fell under his notice as formerly described by us, and when Sir David was unconscious of Macleane having ever been suspected to be Junius—the passage is as follows:—

“An incident of a curious nature has brought him (Mr. West) to be a party in some degree to the singular question respecting the mysterious author of the celebrated Letters of Junius. On the morning that the first of these famous invectives appeared, his friend Governor Hamilton happened to call, and inquiring the news, Mr. West informed him of that bold and daring epistle; ringing for his servant at the same time, he desired the newspaper to be brought in. Hamilton read it over with great attention; and when he had done, laid it on his knees in a manner that particularly attracted the notice of the painter, who was standing at his easel:—‘This letter,’ said Hamilton in a tone of vehement feeling, ‘is by that d—d scoundrel Macleane.’ ‘What Macleane?’ inquired Mr. West:—‘The surgeon of Otway’s regiment—the fellow who attacked me so virulently in the Philadelphia newspaper, on account of the part I felt it my duty to take against one of the officers; this letter is by him; I know these very words; I may well remember them:’ and he read over several phrases and sentences which Macleane had employed against him. Mr. West then informed the Governor, that Macleane was in this country, and that he was personally acquainted with him. ‘He came over,’ said Mr. West, ‘with Colonel Barry, by whom he was introduced to Lord Shelbourne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne), and is at present private secretary to his Lordship.’”

Mr. Galt adds, "Macleane," owing to an impediment in his utterance, "never made any figure in conversation, and passed with most people as a person of no particular attainments. But when Lord Shelbourne came into office, he was appointed Under Secretary of State, and subsequently nominated to a Governorship in India—a rapidity of promotion to a man without family or parliamentary interest, that can only be explained by a profound conviction on the part of his patron of his superior talents, and perhaps also from a strong sense of some peculiar obligation."

In a subsequent number of the same paper, there also appeared the following paragraph:—

"Sir D. Brewster proceeds in his inquiry; and however odd it may seem to have an announcement of the Letters of Junius by Lachlan Macleane, we have no doubt that such a juxtaposition will appear on the title page of future editions of this admirable English classic. We have received a long and interesting letter from Sir D., relating the progress of his investigation, and the discovery of some new facts. Two articles have appeared in the Chester Gazette, in consequence of our former statement respecting Junius. In these, we are informed that Macleane was a short time in parliament, and accepted the Chiltern Hundreds in 1771. The writer says, it is an indispensable condition that Macleane must have served under Lord Townshend, as in a letter published by Junius, and inserted in Woodfall's edition, he says, of that nobleman and his brother, the Honourable Charles Townshend—'*I am not a stranger to this par nobile fratrum—I have served under the one, and have been forty times promised to be served by the other.*'

Now, the fact is, that Maclean served at Quebec under Lord Townshend, and was in the very situation to receive promises from Charles Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767. There is no candidate for Junius to whom this last is applicable, but to Maclean; and it is an important step in the discovery. Sir D. Brewster has a curious letter from a lady (written in her 96th year) of the family of the Macleans of Coll; and she states, that while Junius's Letters were in the course of publication, Secretary Maclean (the name he went by) was believed by his friends to be the author of them. Sir David has also had a communication with Sir D. Ochterlony, who was Commander-in-Chief in India, and who got his Ensigny by the interest of Maclean. Mr. Galt, the novelist, promises also to contribute some additional evidence in support of the inquiry. Thus new proofs are gradually accumulating,—new light is pouring in from various sources,—and little appears to be wanting to complete the chain which will unite inseparably the names of Junius and Lachlan Maclean."

Here we beg leave to remark, that the ingenious writer in the Inverness Courier seems to have mistaken the meaning of the passage cited from Junius, about the *par nobile fratrum*. Junius is here evidently writing in his usual antithetical style, and contrasting the *opposite* relative situations in which he had stood towards the two brothers: "I have served *under* the one (that is, as a soldier), and have been forty times promised *to be served by* the other"—meaning, that the other brother had promised to serve *under* Junius in some subordinate and inferior ministerial or political office;—and not that Junius had ever expected to receive *any favour* from Charles Townshend.—

Taken in the latter sense, the sentence is not wholly devoid of that *point* which is one of the chief characteristics of Junius's style—but in any other sense it is quite derogatory to the lofty and dignified character, which he uniformly, and most naturally, sustains throughout his Letters.

It is much to be regretted that Sir D. Brewster and Mr. Galt should have wasted their valuable time in so hopeless an investigation; for we verily believe, that Scotland never produced such a parricidal monster as Junius must have been, if he were a native of that country.

One of the most recent publications respecting Junius that has fallen under the notice of the reviewer, is a pamphlet which appeared in the latter end of the year 1837, entitled, "Who was Junius?" in which the writer, by "notes and observations upon the Letters of Junius," endeavours to shew that they were written by LORD CHATHAM. After pointing out several instances of agreement in the political sentiments of Junius and his Lordship, and drawing an inference in favour of his hypothesis from the way in which Junius treats Sir William Draper, whose friend and patron Lord Chatham was, and shewing that Horne *almost* directly charges Chatham with being Junius, the author states—"Though in his zeal to serve his country, Lord Chatham, if he be Junius, might feel justified in writing these Letters, it was necessary to veil his name in impenetrable secrecy, when we recollect that he owed all his honours, his title, and the splendour of his family to that king whom he felt obliged to address in such painful language. And though the king exclaimed with Cæsar 'et tu Brute!' we can but venerate the patriot Junius."—*George III. his Court and Family*, i. 415.

“Dr. Addington asserted, ‘that Lord Bute and Lord Chatham were the two men the King hated most;’—this hatred, if Junius be Lord Chatham, may account for the disloyal and rancorous hostility shewn in these Letters towards his majesty George III.”

“Though it seems ungenerous to bring down that obloquy upon the immortal Chatham, which must attach to him when he is thought to be the author of this Letter to his sovereign, in the sunshine of whose favours he was then reposing; yet might not such a letter have been extorted from him through the zeal and sincerity of his patriotism, seeing England so governed? Soon after this Letter to the King, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Chatham’s political enemy, resigned.” At p. 18, it is observed—“It is worthy of remark how few references are made in the index to the name of Lord Chatham—there being only four. After the reference to him (Letter LIII.) Lord Chatham is mentioned nearly twenty times, but only once referred to in the index, viz. (Letter LIV.) Thus, if Junius be Lord Chatham, such an omission helps evidently to conceal him, since the less that is said of him the better. This innocent deception in the arrangement of the index may be attributed to the honour of the publisher, who might know or suspect Lord Chatham to be the author, and was unwilling to betray him by too many references.”

From the concluding paragraph of this pamphlet, it may justly be suspected, that it was composed rather to serve the interest of a political party, than with any hope of convincing the public that the Earl of Chatham was the author of the Letters of Junius.

“Here then,” says the author, “let us ask the friends

of the illustrious Chatham, if they would reject this combination of circumstantial evidence, and deny to his memory the proudest of its adornments? We are at a crisis when the very elements of our Government are threatened with dissolution. The constitutional doctrine of so great a statesman might tranquillize the spirits of misguided men, to whom the presumptuous bearing of these *soi-disant* patriots is as the dust in the lion's eyes; but who would soon see through this veil of darkness if they once believed Junius to have been the immortal Chatham. Then would they strenuously exert themselves in defence of our ancient institutions, safe under the shield of one who they knew of all men to be the closest ally of liberty—her best friend, and ever most ready to be the guide and guardian of her votaries.”

The reader will probably think that no small degree of credulity is required to believe that “the immortal Chatham” ever drew the following portrait of himself, which will be found in a letter written by Junius, under the signature of Lucius, and addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, on the 29th August 1768:—

“I think I have now named all the Cabinet, but the Earl of Chatham. His infirmities have forced him into a retirement, where I presume he is ready to suffer, with a sullen submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepit, worn-out old man. But it is impossible he should be so far active in his own dishonour, as to advise the taking away an employment, given as a reward for the first military success that distinguished his entrance into administration. He is, indeed, a compound of contradictions; but his Letter to Sir Jeffery Amherst stands upon record, and is not

to be explained away. You know, my Lord, that Mr. Pitt therein assured Sir Jeffery Amherst, that the Government of Virginia was given him merely as a reward, and solemnly pledged the royal faith that his residence should never be required. Lost as he is, he would not dare to contradict this letter. If he did, it would be something more than madness. The disorder must have quitted his head, and fixed itself in his heart."

And in a previous letter, 28th April 1767, under the signature of *Poplicola*, Junius stigmatizes Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, as a traitor, for having opposed Mr. George Grenville's Stamp Act; and denied the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to legislate for America; and concludes his letter in the following words: "though we have no Tarpeian Rock for the immediate punishment of treason, yet we have impeachments; and a gibbet is not too honourable a situation for the carcass of a traitor."

That Lord Chatham was not Junius is now certain: for in the correspondence of his lordship, lately published, will be found two letters addressed to him by Junius—one of which we have given at length in the second chapter.

We shall now present the reader with the theory of an ingenious reviewer, as a specimen of the strange speculations which have been broached on the subject.

"But if it be asked whether we have no guess who Junius was, we answer—he was the *hand*, moved, instructed, and guided by *three heads*. One of these was a nobleman then extremely desirous of office, and strongly intriguing to obtain it; the second, was a counsel of high celebrity, in progress towards nobility; the third, was a

military man by profession, of notorious senatorial eloquence and impetuosity. Either of these *singly* could readily deny that he was Junius; and each of them, we believe, has been known to do so. Their combination, if suspected, was incapable of proof; and in fact, as the trio merely furnished themes, but did not compose the letters, they would have found little difficulty in declining the honour, had it been charged on them conjointly. The soul of Junius is, as we conjecture, commemorated in the picture exhibited in Sir Joshua Reynolds's Gallery, representing *Lord Shelbourne* of Junius's day, *Mr. Dunning* (Lord Ashburton), and *Colonel Barré* of parliamentary fame, in conference.

"The actual amanuensis was unquestionably a man of expectations, in which he was disappointed; and if the reader will look back to the lists of characters assumed by Junius, as stated by the writer of the pamphlet before us, he will readily discover that profession which was not supplied by either of the three personages we have mentioned. In short, as Scrub very wittily and not less truly observes, 'there cannot be a plot without a priest and a woman in it,' so we believe that the penman of Junius was of the clerical order (Dr. Wilmot); and as to the interference of a woman (Mrs. Wilmot Serres, the Doctor's niece), we are old enough to remember facts that are traceable, if our judgment be correct, almost from end to end of the correspondence."

The many ridiculous surmises which had appeared in print, respecting the author of the Letters of Junius, at last gave rise to a publication entitled—*Junius, with his Vizor up*, which is thus noticed in the Monthly Magazine for May 1819:—

“Among the lighter effusions of the press, a clever *jeu d’esprit* has appeared under the title of—*Junius, with his Vizor up*, by *Ædipus Oronoko*, Tobacconist and Snuff-seller; the object of which is to hold up to ridicule some recent publications on the supposed discovery of the writer of Junius’s Letters. It was printed at Oxford, and is evidently the production of some juvenile Oxonian, who has seized a very fair opportunity for the exercise of satire, and established some pretension to the title of a satirist. It is not quite fair to promulgate a discovery which has cost Mr. Oronoko so much pains and labour; but we cannot resist the temptation of affording such a treat to our readers as the *unveiling* and *revealing* to them the unknown Junius, who, according to this author, was no other than SUETT, the Comedian.”

Perhaps, after this, ‘my gentle reader’ may be inclined to adopt the opinion of Lord Byron, who declares—

I’ve an hypothesis—’t is quite my own;
 I never let it out till now, for fear
 Of doing people harm about the throne,
 And injuring some minister or peer,
 On whom the stigma might perhaps be blown;
 It is—my gentle public lend thine ear!
 ’T is, that what Junius we are wont to call,
 Was REALLY, TRULY, *nobody at all*.

Although the advocates of the different pretenders shew the utmost eagerness to clutch the literary laurels of Junius, yet it is amusing to observe with what sensitiveness all parties shrink from the infamy, which must necessarily attach to any man found to possess such a diabolical spirit of malignity as the author of Junius has exhibited,—thus, a friend of Dr. Butler, the bishop of Hereford, in a letter to an official gentleman, says—

“From all I was ever able to learn of the Bishop’s personal character, he was incapable of discovering or feeling those *rancorous sentiments*, so unbecoming his character as a christian, and his station as a prelate, expressed towards the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, Sir William Draper, and others,—more especially the King.”

Speaking of the claim of Mr. Burke, Mr. Butler observes—“Can any reason be assigned for attributing to Mr. Burke the *personal hatred* which Junius evidently had for his late Majesty? for the Duke of Bedford? or for Lord Mansfield?” And when alluding to the suspicion with regard to Mr. Wilkes being the author of the Letters, Mr. Butler also remarks—“Far from giving the least hint that he was the author of Junius’s Letters, he always explicitly disclaimed it, and treated it as a ridiculous supposition. No one acquainted with his style can suspect for a moment that he was the author of them: the merit of his style, was simplicity: he had both gaiety and strength; but to the *rancorous sarcasm*, the *lofty contempt*, with which Junius’s Letters abound, no one was a greater stranger than Mr. Wilkes: to this may be added, the very slighting manner in which Junius expresses himself of Mr. Wilkes. I am willing to admit that if Mr. Wilkes had written Junius’s Letters, he would have treated Mr. Wilkes uncivilly for the sake of disguising himself; but sneer, and particularly that *kind of sneer*, which Mr. Wilkes occasionally receives from Junius, you may be assured Mr. Wilkes could never have used in speaking of himself.”

In perusing the foregoing account of the false Juniuses, the reader cannot fail to be struck with the mass of hear-

say evidence, vague conjecture, and illogical arguments, which have been collected and brought forward by the advocates of the different candidates, in support of their favourite hypotheses. It will also be observed, that the only solid foundation on which any of their pretensions rest, is the accidental circumstance of each claimant possessing *a few only* of the characteristics of Junius, the imagination of their sanguine advocates having supplied all the rest, whilst the ardour of their enthusiasm has rendered them blind to the insuperable objections which the internal evidence of the Letters present to the success of every one of the foregoing pretenders; otherwise, we should not have had a host of lawyers, divines, eminent authors, and even Scotsmen, thrust forward as candidates for the laurels of Junius. At the same time it may be remarked, that from the circumstances of these claims having been brought before the public at different times, and many of the writers not being aware of what had been previously advanced by others on the subject, it has happened, that the same species of insufficient evidence and flimsy reasoning, have been repeatedly brought forward to support the claims of different candidates. From the whole, therefore, it appears evident, that the only way to arrive at a correct conclusion on this interesting subject, is to lay the whole case before the reader, commencing with an account of all the information that can be collected respecting Junius and his works, and then to give the substance of what has been adduced, either in the way of fact, or argument, in favour of the various candidates. Having done this with respect to the claims of some of the candidates for the honours of Junius, and after weighing their pretensions

in the balance and finding them wanting, the competitors for the prize are now reduced to three: namely, Lord George Sackville, and Sir Philip Francis (the alpha and omega of the suspected), and Mr. Charles Lloyd; whose conflicting claims we deem worthy of a more minute investigation:—

O'er all the rest, an undistinguished crew,
Her wings of deepest shade oblivion drew.



MR. CHARLES LLOYD.

Is he only the PUNCH *of the puppet show*, to speak as he is prompted by the CHIEF JUGGLER behind the curtain?

Junius.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. E. H. Barker's inquiry into the claim of Charles Lloyd to the Authorship of the Letters of Junius.—Observations on the Publications of Mr. Taylor, Mr. Coventry, Mr. Barker, and others, in support of the claims of particular individuals.—Various accounts of Charles Lloyd.—Mr. Almon's description of his Political Pamphlets.—Mr. R. Fellowes's remarks on Lloyd's claim.—The earliest notice of Lloyd's pretensions.—Dr. Parr, the great champion for Lloyd.—His letters to Mr. Butler on the subject.—Mr. Butler's opinion of the Doctor's evidence and arguments.—Mr. R. Fellowes's remarks on Dr. Parr's hypothesis.—Different accounts of the discoveries at Stowe—Observations thereon—Remarks on Mr. Barker's mode of conducting his inquiry, and on his doctrine of 'the neutralization' of evidence.—Mr. R. Fellowes's final judgment on Lloyd's claim.

MR. CHARLES LLOYD.

To laugh were want of decency or grace,
But to be grave exceeds all power of face.

Pope.

THE claim of Mr. Charles Lloyd has been advocated, and the general question respecting the authorship of the Letters of Junius discussed, with much critical acumen and diligent research, by Mr. E. H. Barker, in his Five Letters on the Author of Junius.

It is, however, to be observed, that this work, as well as the previous publications of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Coventry, have all been written with the express design of advocating the claims of particular individuals, and therefore require to be read with much caution. An able advocate can, with surprising dexterity, make facts and circumstances bend to his own peculiar view of a case. As the mountain would not come to Mahomet, the prophet very condescendingly went to the mountain; so in controversies, if the theory does not square with the facts, the latter must even conform themselves to the theory. With such ample materials as the controversy respecting the author of the Letters of Junius affords, a clever advocate may construct an argument to prove almost anything, and even surpass the legal sage mentioned by the Spectator, who assured Will Honeycomb that a certain lady who had robbed him of his heart by

painting her face *white*, might be indicted under the *black* act.

On the other hand, Mr. Butler and Dr. Good may be considered the text writers on the subject, for they not only possessed peculiar advantages by having access to the original Letters of Junius, and other superior sources of information, but what is of more consequence, as regards the correctness and value of their conclusions, they had *no preconceived hypothesis to support*, and have not committed themselves by declaring in favour of any particular claimant; and therefore, the corollaries drawn by these gentlemen, may safely be used as tests, for trying the pretensions of the numerous claimants for the honours of Junius. The views of Mr. Butler, in particular, on many important points are admitted to be correct by Mr. Barker.

Of Charles Lloyd little appears to be known at the present day. He is said to have been a native of Ireland, and received his education at Westminster School. Mr. Barker having applied for information respecting him to Mr. Moysey, of Hayes in Kent, one of Lloyd's school-fellows, received from that gentleman a note, dated Nov. 5th, 1827, in the following words:—"Mr. Moysey is very sorry he has it not in his power to satisfy Mr. Barker's inquiries. Mr. Charles Lloyd was his senior [at Westminster School] many years; their acquaintance was not one of intimacy or of long duration. Since 1766, or thereabouts, Mr. M. knows nothing of Mr. Lloyd, either alive or dead. He can only say that his temper was very cheerful, far removed from reserved or morose habits; and as to faculties, he was a man of very lively parts and a great deal of wit. He was called by his

schoolfellows, *Dolly Lloyd*, for reasons which do not appear. He was younger brother of the Dean of Norwich, an eminent character. But Mr. M. cannot recollect any of his contemporaries *now* surviving, and grieves he can be of no further use."

The late Mr. Jeremy Bentham was also applied to; but all he could tell of Mr. Lloyd was, that "he remembers Charles Lloyd as a writer of political pamphlets, but can give no opinion on his claims to the authorship of *Junius*, because he has never turned his attention to the subject."

Another of Mr. Barker's correspondents (the Rev. Thomas Kidd) says, in a letter dated Wymondham, June 29th, 1827:—"You are, I think, right in ascribing the Letters of *Junius* to Mr. Charles Lloyd, private secretary to Mr. George Grenville, and afterwards in the same capacity to Lord North. I have more than once conversed with a gentleman who was in the same office with Lloyd, and knew him personally and well. He had a great predilection for chemistry, from which science *Junius* has borrowed expressions which enrich his style. He was a great oddity in his wardrobe; fond of walking in the streets unveiled, and generally with a pen behind his ear; his gait was usually hurried and rapid."

From Almon's "*Anecdotes of Eminent Persons*," we learn that Charles Lloyd was *private secretary* to Mr. George Grenville, during the time that gentleman was First Lord of the Treasury, and the author of many political tracts, chiefly written in vindication of that minister's conduct. The principal of which were "*The Anatomy of a late Negotiation*:" this related to the negotiation which Lord Bute brought on between the

King and Mr. Pitt, in the autumn of the year 1763. "A Vindication of the Conduct of the Ministry in the Case of Mr. Wilkes." "A Defence of the Majority in the House of Commons, on the Question relating to General Warrants." "An Honest Man's Reasons for declining to take a part in the New Administration," [this was the Administration of 1765, commonly called the Rockingham Administration]. "A Critical Review of the New Administration." "The Conduct of the late Administration examined, relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act." It is said that the greatest part, if not the whole, of this tract was dictated by Mr. Grenville himself. Mr. Burke having written a little tract, called "A Short Account of a late Short Administration," Mr. Lloyd wrote an answer to it, which was called "A True History of a late Short Administration." Mr. Lloyd also wrote "An Examination of the Principles and boasted Disinterestedness of a late Right Honourable Gentleman [Mr. Pitt], in a Letter from an Old Man of Business to a Noble Lord:" this was written on the change of ministry in 1766. His last work, mentioned by Mr. Almon, is "A Word at Parting to His Grace the Duke of Bedford;" which was occasioned by His Grace's friends joining the ministry at the end of the year 1767, and abandoning Mr. Grenville: besides these, he wrote many Essays and Letters in the public papers, on political temporary subjects, which are now lost. According to Mr. Almon's account, he was in an ill state of health during the whole period when the Letters of Junius appeared, and died, after a lingering illness, on the 22d January 1773.

The above appears to be the substance of all that is

now known respecting Charles Lloyd; and his claim to the authorship of Junius's Letters seems to rest entirely upon the circumstances of his intimate connexion with Mr. George Grenville, and that he died about the time when Junius ceased to write, which Mr. Barker contends is a presumption in favour of his being their author—while Dr. Good considers this circumstance as decisive against Lloyd's claim—his words are (Preliminary Essay, p. 100), "Lloyd was on his death-bed at the date of the last of Junius's private letters; an essay which has sufficient proof of having been written in the possession of full health and spirits, and which, together with the rest of our author's private letters to the printer of the Public Advertiser, is in the possession of the proprietor of this edition, and bears date January 19th, 1773." Lloyd died three days after the date of this letter.

One of Mr. Barker's correspondents (Mr. R. Fellowes), whom he styles a "most eloquent, sagacious, and intelligent friend," says, in a letter dated February 1st, 1827, "I think you will find your hypothesis that Lloyd was Junius, encumbered with many embarrassing considerations, if not some insurmountable obstacles. Almon might be a very incompetent judge of Lloyd's literary abilities; but as he knew him personally, and was acquainted with several of his friends and connexions, companions, he could not well err in the account which he has given of the state of his health,—now, if we may credit Almon, Lloyd's health was in a declining state at the first appearance of the Letters under the signature of Junius. But did not the Letters of Junius, during the considerable interval in which they followed each other in rapid succession, require the constant exercise of a

degree of intellectual vigour and activity, which is seldom found in conjunction with a decay of the corporal functions, and a depression of the vital powers."

It does not appear that Mr. Barker has succeeded in obtaining any autographs of Lloyd, to compare with the specimens of Junius's writing given by Mr. Woodfall; and as to any similarity of style between Lloyd's acknowledged compositions, and the Letters of Junius, we will present the reader with the sentiments of Mr. Barker's "sagacious and intelligent friend," Mr. R. Fellowes, on the subject, which are contained in another letter of the 9th July 1827:—"I have glanced over all the pamphlets, and have read the two that were written by Lloyd. They appear to me to furnish very cogent proof that he was *not* the author of the Letters under the name of Junius.

"In Lloyd's '*Anatomy of a late Negotiation*,' printed in 1763, there are no indications of a superior mind, either in the thoughts or diction. It is the mere commonplace of an ordinary intellect. The pamphlet entitled '*An Examination, etc.*' which was written three years after the former, does not exhibit any proof of a mind in progress, gradually enlarging its powers, multiplying its stock of ideas, invigorating its sentiments, and improving its style. If Lloyd had been a young man at the time these two pamphlets were written, the perusal could never have induced a critic to presage that he would ever attain to any of that force and brilliancy of style, that is so visible in the composition of Junius. The pamphlets are flat and jejune, sterile in sentiment, and feeble in diction. I cannot discern the workings of a strong, or the richness of a full mind. There is no luxuriance that might be pruned into beauty, no expansion that might be compressed into force."

“You must, moreover, reflect, that at the period when those pamphlets were written, Lloyd was no longer a young man, and he was besides ‘in an infirm state of health,’ as he himself tells us at p. 5, and which, according to the testimony of Almon, continued till his death.”

“The earliest mention in print,” says Mr. Barker, “of Lloyd’s name, in connexion with Junius, occurs in the Rev. Sir Herbert Croft’s *Love and Madness*, a story too true, in a series of letters, which was first published in 1780—it occurs in letter thirty, and is simply this,—‘Another slice of politics—assert boldly that Junius was written by Grenville’s secretary. This is *fact*, notwithstanding what Wilkes relates of Lord Germaine’s bishop [Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford]: here we have assertion, without any clue to support it.’”

But the principal champion in defending the claim of Charles Lloyd, was the late Dr. Parr, whose great name and authority on all literary questions, rather than any weight of evidence, seem to have beguiled Mr. Barker and many others. That the learned Doctor firmly believed what he so positively and peremptorily asserted, there can be no doubt; but when we come to examine the proofs which he adduced, in support of his hypothesis, they appear to be extremely slight.

In a letter written by Dr. Parr to Mr. Charles Butler, in the early part of the year 1822, he says: “You have written very sensibly about the author of Junius, and we must allow that the pamphlet which ascribes the book to Sir Philip Francis, and Brougham’s critique upon it, contain very striking probabilities; but they made little impression on my mind,—for I, for these forty years, have had the firmest conviction that Junius was Mr. Lloyd,

brother to Philip Lloyd (dean of Norwich), and secretary to George Grenville. My information came from two most sagacious observers; and when I spoke to the second, I did not tell him what I had previously heard from the first. One of my witnesses was Dr. Farmer, a most curious, indefatigable, acute searcher in literary anecdote, and he spoke with confidence unbounded: the other was a witness of a yet higher order, and who opposed, and I think confuted, Junius upon the Middlesex election. He was a most wary observer, and a most incredulous man indeed. He had access, not to great statesmen, but to the officers who were about the House of Commons and House of Lords. He rested neither day nor night till he had made his discovery, and there lives not the human being upon whose judgment I could rely more firmly for a fact. When you and I meet, I will tell you the whole story. Let us pursue this subject when we meet, for all I shall now add upon it is, that a very sagacious gentleman of Ireland, who died last year, had from other premises worked out the same conclusions."

In another letter from Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler, dated April 9th, 1822, he remarks: "Your account of Junius is very entertaining; *but I tell you, and peremptorily I tell you, that the real Junius was secretary to George Grenville*, of whom you cannot forget, that having ceased to be prime minister, he was so provoked as to attend an angry county meeting in Buckinghamshire. The name of Junius was Lloyd. Lord Grenville knows the late Marquis of Buckingham once dropped three or four significant words, but I will tell you more when we meet in London. I go thither next week, and we must contrive to meet at the house of our friend Mr. Denman."

In a letter addressed to Mr. Barker by Mr. Butler, September 15th, 1826, he says: "The last time Dr. Parr was in town, he communicated to me the evidence and arguments by which he supported his hypothesis, that Mr. Lloyd was the author of the Letters signed Junius. *They appeared to me very inconclusive*; a literary gentleman of the highest eminence, to whom also he communicated them, thought the same. *I have quite forgotten them.*"

Mr. R. Fellowes well sustains the character which Mr. Barker has given him, of being "a most *sagacious and intelligent* friend," by the following observations on Dr. Parr's hypothesis (in his letter of the 1st February 1827): "I have often heard Dr. Parr speak with great confidence of Charles Lloyd as the author of the *Letters*. Temerity was not usually a characteristic of the Doctor's judgment in such matters; but in adjudicating the Letters to Lloyd, he never appeared to me to have examined the subject with his usual caution, or to have estimated its probabilities, or different sides, with his accustomed impartiality and discrimination. I never heard him adduce a more satisfactory reason for his opinion, that Charles Lloyd was the author of the Letters, than the change which he remarked in the countenance of his brother, the Dean of Norwich, when the Doctor distinctly avowed his belief, that that brother had the merit of these contested compositions. There was a sudden transition in the Dean's countenance, from that of much complacency in the supposition, to that of what the Doctor supposed, very sensitive alarm about the consequences. If Charles Lloyd were the author, the Grenvilles must be the depositories of the secret. I could say something upon that

subject, if I did not feel that I am treading on ground where I am not permitted to throw any light into the depths of the obscuring shade."

"During my long residence at Hatton," says Mr. Barker (p. 281), "I often conversed with Dr. Parr about Junius; but the conversation was very desultory, frequently interrupted, and seldom brought sufficiently to a point. He invariably held forth Charles Lloyd as the author of the Letters. In this opinion he was guided more by private circumstances than by public reasons. He appeared not to have taken any large view of the question, or to have examined with any great attention what was either written or said about the matter. He had not continually revolved his own reasons in his capacious mind, as was usual with him in respect to controverted points; and yet he had a variety of little facts and circumstances, which he was at all times ready to produce, and by which he had satisfied his own mind, and thus peremptorily precluded the exercise of that great understanding and those powers of discrimination which he so triumphantly employed on many other occasions. He had read Mr. Taylor's book, Mr. Brougham's critique on it, and the observations in Mr. Butler's *Reminiscences*; but I doubt whether he had seen any of the numerous pamphlets on the question. He had not met with any of Lloyd's compositions, and therefore he drew no arguments favourable to his hypothesis from a comparison of style. If he had read any of his compositions, he would have found good reason to change his opinion. Dr. Parr was personally acquainted with Charles Lloyd. He described him to be a most unhappy, fretful man, accustomed to look on the dark side of

every thing. This account was probably correct, but does not agree with the testimony of Mr. Moysey, though the latter speaks only of Lloyd as a youth, when his disposition might have been very different."

Having thus examined all that can be collected respecting Dr. Parr's communications on the subject of Lloyd being Junius, the result appears to be, that we must either subscribe to Mr. Fellowes's inference, "that the Doctor had never examined the subject with his usual caution," or else come to the conclusion, that he was not a very competent judge of the *rules of circumstantial evidence*, by which the question of "who was the author of the Letters of Junius," must (if ever) be decided. Had this been a question respecting the literary merits of the Letters only, the world might have been satisfied with the Doctor's mere dictum, without inquiring about, or scrutinizing his reasons; but as the real question depends upon the *sufficiency and value of evidence*, there can be no doubt that the Doctor's opinion on such a subject is entitled to much less consideration, and is vastly inferior in authority to that of Mr. Butler, by whom the Doctor's "evidence and arguments" were considered so utterly worthless, as to be soon "quite forgotten."

We shall now proceed to notice the wonderful discoveries which are said to have been made at Stowe, and supposed to favour the claims of Charles Lloyd.

The earliest notice of this discovery appeared in a magazine for October 1827, entitled, "The Inspector." In an article beginning, "August 27—the murder's out, Junius is at last discovered, and strange to say, never once scented. The simple history of the discovery is,

that some six weeks ago, as Lord Nugent and His Grace of Buckingham were private paper hunting in the Stowe library, they lit upon a parcel studiously concealed in a to them unknown recess. The parcel contained three letters: one from Junius, under his fictitious signature, another to George Grenville, asking for legal advice as to the risk of publishing the Letter to the King with the real name, and a third inclosing Junius's letter to Lord Mansfield, with the author's initials. References are made in the last to a letter from George Grenville to the author. The Duke went off post-haste to Dropmore with the parcel. *Lord Grenville at once recognised it, and declared his intention of providing for the publicity of the documents after his death, but not till then.* At his request, the Duke and Lord Nugent have pledged themselves to silence till that event shall have taken place; and thus I, and all others interested in the matter, are forced to stifle our curiosity as well as we can."

"This information," says Mr. Barker (p. 313), "so positively given, and professedly derived from the authority of Lord Nugent, *is by no means correct*, as the reader will see by referring to a statement, which the kindness of a friend will enable me to employ in the preface to this volume. The statement referred to is as follows:—
'London, March 22d, 1828. Allow me to make the following assertions, that your readers may not be misled by a document which has evidently been fabricated to gain the magazine some notoriety. 1. I can assure you, from the best authority, and I have every reason to believe it, that Lord Nugent and the Duke of Buckingham never lit upon a parcel concealed in an unknown recess. 2. That they found no letter to George Gren-

ville from Junius, asking for legal advice as to the risk of publishing the Letter to the King with the real name. 3. That there was no letter inclosing Junius's letter to Lord Mansfield, with the author's initials. 4. That the Duke of Buckingham never went to Dropmore with any such parcel. 5. That Lord Grenville never declared his intention of providing for the publicity of such documents after his decease. 6. That the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Nugent never pledged themselves to silence until Lord Grenville's decease. 7. That Lord Grenville, at his advanced age, is totally uninterested in the subject, and never makes it the theme of conversation or research. 8. That Lord Nugent never considered himself justified in conversing with his uncle on the subject, knowing that it was one which afforded him no interest. 9. *That the claims of Charles Lloyd (independently of his going abroad after the decease of George Grenville) are too vague to justify even a suspicion that he was in any manner concerned in the publication of the Letters.* 10. That most men entertain opinions of their own upon this mysterious subject, and it is highly probable that Lord Nugent may suspect some individual, whose name has hitherto been withheld from the public, but of such suspicion he has no positive evidence.

“I have now given a full reply to the paragraph in the Inspector, and I pledge my word that I have advanced nothing but what I have it in my power fully to substantiate. You are at liberty, therefore, to prefix it to your forthcoming publication.”

On the subject of the supposed discovery at Stowe, Mr. Barker gives the two following extracts from letters addressed to him by friends.

“London, January 25th, 1828. This very day a friend, who is very intimate with the Duke of Buckingham, informed me, that a short time before the Duke went abroad, he wrote to him thus:—‘What will you give me if I tell you who was the author of Junius? I know it, but the *secret must be kept some time longer.*’ I understand the Duke found some family papers, by which he is no doubt in full possession of the secret.”

“January 16th, 1828. I have, however, some information for you relative to the Grenvilles, to which family Junius and Lloyd seem to have leaned in their political attachment and writings. I was informed some time ago, that the Duke of Buckingham had, from certain documents found in his archives, discovered who really was the author of the Letters of Junius. Not having the honour of his Grace’s acquaintance, I wrote to a friend, who had been in the habit of spending a considerable portion of his time at Stowe, to let me know whether he had heard anything upon the subject during his stay there, and whether the Duke was inclined to make public the documents. In answer, he informed me that he had heard his Grace express himself to the effect of knowing who Junius was, and *that his name was not among those who had ever been suspected.* My friend was not inclined to trespass further upon his Grace’s communicativeness. He was privileged to eat his mutton, drink his claret, and ride his horses; but, although a man of respectable rank, not authorised to question his noble host upon such matters. What his Grace’s documents or suppositions are, I therefore know not, whether worth anything or nothing.”

Mr. Barker has not favoured us with the names of his

correspondents, and therefore we have no means of judging of the value of their testimony.

“From these authentic statements,” says Mr. Barker, “it is evident, that though the Stowe discovery is not so important as the writer in the Inspector represents, it is of so much importance, *that the Duke of Buckingham considers himself to have detected the name of the writer*; and the reader will remark, that in the statement which comments on the article extracted from the Inspector, there is no attempt to deny the fact of the discovery, or even its real importance, but the denial goes no farther than to contradict the reported extent of the discovery.”

It will be observed, that this boasted discovery neither advances the claim of Lloyd, nor any of the other suspected persons, but rather tends to mystify the matter more than ever, as it is pretended that *the name of the real author was not among those who had ever been suspected*.

The various accounts of the Stowe discovery, if critically examined, will be found so vague and contradictory, and based on such suspicious and dubious authority, as to render it very questionable whether there be *any truth* in the story; or admitting it to be not altogether fictitious, the reader finds himself placed in the same dilemma as Dr. Johnson, when he was told that he might conscientiously believe *half* of some marvellous narrative which was related to him: “Perhaps so,” replied the Doctor, “but how am I to know *which half* to believe?” Not one of the *anonymous* reporters pretend to adduce more than *hearsay evidence* in support of their different tales. Some of them would have it believed, that their information was derived from conversations held with His Grace of Buckingham or Lord Nugent;

while others, for aught that appears, may have picked up their intelligence in his Grace's stables, or his Lordship's kitchen; and thus the *real foundation, so far as evidence is concerned*, on which the pretended discovery rests, seems to be little more substantial than the shadow of a shade: besides, if there be any one particular in which the different accounts agree, it is in the assurance that the secret would be divulged at the decease of Lord Grenville and the Duke of Buckingham, yet both these noblemen, like Sir Philip Francis, have since died without making the expected sign.

All the investigators of this subject, except Mr. Barker, appear to have taken it for granted, that the incidental asseverations of Junius respecting himself, which are to be found in his Letters, constituted evidence of considerable value, and afforded important clues in tracing the author. This opinion seems founded on human nature; for as falsehood is the distinguishing vice of little and mean minds, and Junius is admitted to have been a man of haughty spirit and elevated sentiments, it was concluded that he would not be guilty of advancing voluntary and unnecessary falsehoods. "The pride of genius," says Dr. Gregory, in his *Life of Chatterton*, "will seldom descend to the most contemptible of vices—falsehood."

It was also generally thought to be morally impossible for any person to have carried on such an extensive and protracted correspondence as that of Junius, and not to have let out incidentally and unconsciously (especially in the private and confidential letters and notes to Woodfall and Wilkes) many little particulars indicative of the writer's personal habits and station in society; and it was

from these minute and refined clues, that Mr. Butler and Dr. Good drew their valuable, and we believe *just* conclusions respecting the characteristics of Junius.

In addition to the objections already urged against the claim of Lloyd, Mr. Butler observes: "His advocates have, however, to encounter the explicit declaration of Junius—'I have not the honour of being personally known to Mr. Grenville.'" This, and other declarations contained in the Letters of Junius, being fatal to the claim of Lloyd, Mr. Barker is driven to the necessity of contending, that little or no dependence is to be placed on what Junius relates about himself; and answers Mr. Butler's objection by saying: "Now Lloyd was private secretary of George Grenville, and must be supposed to have the private attachment to him which was so evidently felt by Junius; and I have already shewn that Junius's denial of a personal knowledge of George Grenville is entitled to no more credit than Peter's denial of Christ."

Again, it cannot be shewn that the handwriting of Lloyd bears any resemblance to any of the autographs of Junius, published by Mr. Woodfall, and therefore Mr. Barker depreciates the value of evidence tending to establish this point. At p. 138, he says—"In the same way the argument about the identity of Junius and Sir Philip Francis, in respect to *handwriting*, is valueless, because the handwriting of Lord George Sackville has been brought forward as identified with the handwriting of Junius. Thus *the one argument neutralises the other*; and the reasoning would have weight in respect to either Sir Philip or his Lordship, only in case that no other handwriting were set up as the writing of Junius.—Hence I regard the criterion as false or insecure, and

therefore I have avoided making any use of the argument."

Mr. Barker no doubt considered this a very logical mode of killing two birds, of very ill omen to the claim of Lloyd, by one shot; but to shew the fallacy of his reasoning, we beg leave to put the following case:—Let us suppose a discharge of fire-arms is heard in a preserve at midnight, and the keepers sallying forth, apprehend two poachers with recently discharged fowling-pieces, as they issued from opposite parts of the preserve, in which another keeper is discovered slain by a single gun-shot wound. Upon the two men being brought before a magistrate, on suspicion of the murder; if Mr. Barker were allowed to be their advocate, he would probably address his Worship in the following terms:—"As it is evident the deceased received the fatal wound from the contents of a *single gun*, I submit that the prisoners must be discharged; for although I admit that if only *one man* had been apprehended under the same circumstances, there would have been strong grounds of suspicion against him, yet, inasmuch as there are *two individuals* against whom the grounds of suspicion are *equally strong*, I contend that the evidence is *neutralized*, and they must *both be presumed innocent*." To such an address, we apprehend that even Squire Weston would have shaken his head with all the gravity of Lord Burleigh, and replied, "I think the presumption is the other way, and it may probably turn out that both the accused are equally guilty—one by firing the fatal shot, and the other by aiding and abetting his companion."

The *true doctrine* of the *neutralization of evidence* is stated by Mr. Butler, when he says, with respect to the

claim of Sir Philip Francis, "Such, in our opinion, is the state of the question: all external evidence is in favour of Sir Philip; all internal evidence is against him. Thus the argument on each side *neutralizes* the argument on the other; and the pretension of Sir Philip vanishes;"—this is an intelligible statement, and agrees with the rules of circumstantial evidence, which require the external and internal evidence to be consistent and complete, otherwise the proof is defective. But how the circumstance of proving that two individuals possessed one or more of the characteristics of Junius, should disqualify both from claiming the authorship, and at the same time advance the claim of another person, who is totally destitute of such characteristics, appears incomprehensible.

Dr. Parr, and his followers, were unquestionably men of great classical learning; but Mr. Butler was, moreover, a *profound lawyer*, which is sufficient to account for his *decided superiority* in discussing questions of evidence.

All the writers on the authorship of Junius seem to have been struck with astonishment at the malignity displayed in the Letters towards certain exalted individuals; and few of them have expressed their sentiments on the subject with more force or eloquence than Mr. Barker. In alluding to the suspicion against Burke, he remarks (p. 134)—"Even in what Burke himself says about Junius, there is a most unsuspecting testimony to confirm the opinion which I have been delivering, that Burke was too generous spirited to write the Letters. 'It was the rancour and venom with which I was struck,' says he. This rancour and venom, Burke never had; and no man who possessed them not, could have written

Junius. Burke had not the deliberate, resolute, desperate, merciless, and ceaseless malignity of that formidable writer; he was not the wild boar of the forest—he was not the bloodthirsty bird of prey—he was not the public executioner, whose day was spent in leisurely marking the victims for the night—he was not the evil demon, secretly invading the repose of greatness, and shaking the throne of power; and, like reckless death, ‘triumphing, not only in the extent of his conquests, but in the richness of his spoils’—he had not the property of the tiger, to crouch peaceably in the covert, and yet spring with deadly aim on all who came within reach of his paw—he was not accustomed ‘to employ the secresy of a Venetian tribunal, or to strike with the certainty of the Holy Inquisition.’—I therefore contend, that till it can be proved that Burke was not in private life the benevolent character which I have described, and that he was *the malignant being in private life which we trace in the Letters of Junius*, we cannot, with any propriety, consider Burke to be the writer of them.”

After this, we should naturally conclude that Mr. Barker would endeavour to prove that Lloyd *was the malignant being* whom we trace in the Letters of Junius, or that he had, at least, some *probable cause* of enmity against the numerous exalted personages maligned by Junius; but he makes no such attempt.

When Mr. R. Fellowes first heard of Mr. Barker’s intention to advocate the claim of Lloyd, he congratulated him, in a letter dated March 7th, 1827, in the following terms: “I hope you will prove the true Œdipus, and solve the riddle that has puzzled so many men of brains and no brains, so many wits and witlings, for more

than half a century." But after having heard all that Mr. Barker could urge in Lloyd's favour, he closed the correspondence with the following letter:

MY DEAR SIR,

August 16th, 1827.

I return the four volumes of tracts you so obligingly sent for my perusal. I am now more than ever perplexed about the authorship of Junius. I cannot even hazard a guess upon the subject. I am indeed perplexed in what seems an inextricable labyrinth. *I am convinced that neither Lloyd nor Whately were the authors of these far-famed compositions.* If the Letters were concocted in the cabinet of the Grenvilles, they might have been in a greater or less degree auxiliaries; but two or three subordinate understandings cannot make one master mind. In intellectual operations, numbers do not constitute strength. There may be numerous forces in the field, but it is one presiding mind that marshals the host and gains the victory. *Junius might have subalterns to assist, but he was alone and unrivalled in the execution.* He is, however, still like the Man in the Iron Mask, a problem that has employed the wits of more than half a century in the solution. If Lloyd alone, or Lloyd and Whately, were in any degree accessories to the work, it must be remembered that they both died too early to make it prudent or safe for them to disclose what they knew. If the Grenvilles were in the secret, they had very momentous reasons to prevent them from divulging it during the last reign. Even at present they may feel a repugnance in having it known that they, in the person of their ancestor, if I may so speak, were accomplices in laying bare to the vulgar scorn the hypocritical interior of sceptred majesty, and in teaching the multitude to think and to speak contemptuously of kings.

I am, etc.

R. FELLOWES.

Such being the final sentence passed on the claim of Charles Lloyd, by Mr. Barker's "eloquent, sagacious,

and intelligent friend" Mr. R. Fellowes, we have only to express our admiration of that gentleman's discriminating judgment in the words of Gratiano:

A Daniel, still say I; a second Daniel!

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

Shakspeare.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall is convinced that Sir Philip Francis was the author of Junius. I do not yet believe it. He was too vain a man to let the secret die with him.

Sir Egerton Brydges' Notes on Wraxall's Memoirs.

I persist in thinking that neither Mr. Burke, nor Sir Philip Francis, was the author of the Letters under the signature of Junius. I think the mind of the first so superior, and the mind of the latter so inferior, to that of Junius, as to put the supposition that either of them was Junius, wholly out of the question.

Mr. Charles Butler's Letter to Mr. E. H. Barker, 14th June 1828.

We must all grant that a strong case has been made out for Francis; but I could set up very stout objections to those claims. It was not in his nature to keep a secret. He would have told it from vanity, or from his courage, or from his patriotism. His bitterness, his vivacity, his acuteness, are stamped in characters very peculiar upon many publications that bear his name; and very faint indeed is their resemblance to the spirit, and in an extended sense of the word, to the style, of Junius.

Dr. Parr.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. John Taylor's Publications in support of Sir Philip Francis's claim.—Sir Philip's Letter to the Editor of the Monthly Magazine on the subject.—The justness of Sir Philip's claim admitted by Atticus Secundus.—Mr. Butler's remarks on Mr. Taylor's Publications.—Different opinion expressed in the Edinburgh Review.—Sketch of the Life of Sir Philip Francis.—His deficiencies in the most important Characteristics of Junius pointed out.—The Edinburgh Reviewer's Statement of the Case on behalf of Sir Philip.—The similarity of style between the Letters of Junius, and the Writings of Sir Philip, shewn only to prove that Sir Philip was a successful imitator of the style of Junius.—Many remarkable instances of successful imitation given.—Ireland's Shakspeare Papers.—Rowley's Poems.—The Poems of Ossian.—George Psalmanazar's Impostures.—Several other particulars and coincidents stated by the Reviewer to prove that Sir Philip was the author of the Letters of Junius.—Answered by Mr. Barker.—Sir Philip Francis dies and "makes no sign" of his being Junius.—The opinions of Dr. Parr and Mr. Charles Butler on his claim, and on the Review in his favour.—The sentiments of a Writer in the North American Review on the subject stated.—Concluding remarks by Mr. E. H. Barker, and the opinion of Sir Walter Scott on Sir Philip's claim.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

I fear, thou art another counterfeit;
And yet, in faith, thou bear'st thee like a king.

Shakspeare.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS was one of those fortunate individuals who have had "honour thrust upon them," for not the slightest suspicion seems to have been entertained of his identity with Junius, or of his having had any connexion with that writer, previously to the year 1813: when his pretensions were placed before the world, with much plausibility of statement and force of argument, in a clever pamphlet written by Mr. John Taylor, entitled, "*A Discovery of the Author of the Letters of Junius, founded on such Evidence and Illustrations, as explain all the mysterious circumstances and apparent contradictions which have contributed to the concealment of this most important secret of our times.*" And in 1816, he put forth an improved statement, entitled, "*The Identity of Junius with a Distinguished Living Character established; with a Supplement, consisting of fac-similes of Handwriting, and other Illustrations.*"

In an article on the first pamphlet, inserted in the "Monthly Magazine," for July 1813, the Editor says:—"We confess we were at first startled by this hypothesis, from its temerity; because if not true, Sir Philip Francis would be able by a word to disprove it, and it could not

be supposed that so much labour and expense would be hazarded, except on indubitable grounds. To be able, therefore, to render this article as conclusive as possible, we addressed Sir Philip Francis on the subject, in the way the least likely to render the inquiry offensive; and in reply, received the following epistle, which we insert at length, in justice to Sir Philip and the public :

“SIR,

“The great civility of your letter, induces me to answer it, which with reference merely to its subject matter, I should have declined. Whether you will assist in giving currency to a *silly malignant falsehood*, is a question for your own discretion. To me, it is a matter of perfect indifference.

“I am, Sir, yours, etc.

“P. FRANCIS.”

“*To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.*”

On receiving the above letter from Sir Philip, in which the report is treated as a *silly malignant falsehood*, Sir Richard Phillips, the editor of the magazine, immediately abandoned any further inquiry on the subject, perceiving the theory to be built upon an erroneous foundation; “and it would have been well,” observes Mr. Coventry, “for the reputation of other literary critics, had they followed so wise an example.”

This, however, was not the case; for notwithstanding the tenor of Sir Philip’s letter, there are still persons who insist that he was the true Simon Pure—the veritable Junius—his letter, they say, is unsatisfactory and evasive, and signifies anything or nothing. This may be all very true, for we pretend not to fathom the meaning of so profound a writer as Sir Philip; though we cannot help entertaining our own suspicions, that it signifies any-

thing but a recognition, or adoption, of the imputed authorship.

That respectable commentator Atticus Secundus seems quite positive that Sir Philip, and no one else, was Junius, for he declares expressly:—"though Sir Philip Francis has since died without '*making any sign*' as to his being the author, and even amidst some *indirect attempts on his part to decline the honour*, the suspicion which has been awakened has lost nothing of its force, and we may even venture to assert, has been every day advancing towards complete conviction. The author of this dissertation has no hesitation whatever in expressing his own belief, because it is perfect, and because he thinks himself to possess advantages for the decision of the question, which can have belonged in the same degree to but a few. In the course of preparing this new edition of the Letters, he has been led to analyze the style of Junius with a care which only such a task would lead any individual to bestow. The manner of Junius has thus become to him like the voice of an intimate friend; he has become acquainted, not merely with his peculiar tone, but with his very mode of *thinking* and of arranging his *thoughts*; and having, with these advantages, compared the style of the late Sir Philip Francis with that of the Letters, he ventures to announce his perfect confidence in the identity of these two characters; and would maintain that confidence, *upon this similarity of style alone*; although there were not that host of corroborating circumstances which renders the evidence upon this point, perhaps the most complete that ever was advanced on any subject of the same kind."

If after this it should be found that the sagacity of

Atticus Secundus has been at fault, surely it may be said from henceforth, 'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom.'

Mr. Taylor's publications are spoken of by Mr. Charles Butler in the following terms:—

"The *external* evidence produced in the pamphlets in favour of Sir Philip Francis, is very strong:—so strong, perhaps, that if he had been tried upon it for a libel; and the case had rested upon the facts, from which this evidence is formed, the judge would have directed the jury to find him guilty. But the *internal* evidence against him, from the inequality of his acknowledged writings, is also very strong: if the able author of the Article "Junius" in the Edinburgh Review, had not professed a different opinion, the present writer would have pronounced it decisive."—*Remin.* i. 93.

The "*different opinion*" given by the able author in the Edinburgh Review, who is said to be Mr. Brougham, is as follows:—"Sir Philip Francis had never, as far as we know, been suspected. The book is written in a way abundantly creditable to the author. It contains every thing necessary for determining the question, and is written without affectation. That it proves Sir Philip Francis to be Junius, we will not affirm; but this we can safely assert, that it accumulates such a mass of circumstantial evidence, as renders it extremely difficult to believe he is not; and that, if so many coincidences shall be found to have misled us in this case, our faith in all conclusions drawn from the proofs of a similar kind may henceforth be shaken."

In order fully to understand the claim of Sir Philip Francis, it may be proper to give here a short sketch of his life.

PHILIP FRANCIS was born in Dublin, on the 22d of October 1740. His father, the Rev. Philip Francis, was the well-known translator of Horace and Demosthenes. Young Philip received the first elements of his education in Dublin. At the *age of ten*, he came to England, and was placed at St. Paul's School, under the care of Mr. George Thicknesse, of whose learning and attention to himself he all his life spoke with respect. When he had reached his sixteenth year, he was placed by Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, in whose family his father had been tutor, in a small office in the Secretary of State's chambers. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronized and encouraged him; and it has even been asserted, that young Francis frequently officiated as amanuensis to Mr. Pitt.

Through the patronage of this great statesman he was made secretary to General Bligh in 1758, was present at the capture and demolition of Cherburgh, and at the attack on the rear-guard of our army at St. Cas. In 1760, he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, when that nobleman went as ambassador to Lisbon. In 1763, Welbore Ellis, secretary at war, appointed him to a considerable post in the War Office, which he continued to hold from that period till the year 1772, that is to say, during the time in which the Letters of Junius appeared, and from which he was discharged by Lord Barrington. He spent most of the year 1772 in travelling through Flanders, part of Germany, the Tyrol, Italy, and France, with his intimate friend David Godfrey. During his residence at Rome, he was honoured with a conference of two hours by the Pope. In about half-a-year after his return to England, the

same Lord Barrington, who had occasioned his retreat from the War Office, warmly recommended him to Lord North, by whom his name was inserted in an Act of Parliament, passed in June 1773, to be a member of the council appointed for the government of Bengal: the other commissioners being—Warren Hastings, governor-general; John Clavering, commander-in-chief; George Monson, and Richard Barwell. During most of the time he spent in India, he was engaged, to use his own words, “in perpetual contest with Mr. Hastings;” and in consequence of some severe charges made against him by that gentleman, Mr. Francis challenged him, and was himself shot through the body. He left Bengal in December 1780, about four months after the duel, passed five months in St. Helena, and arrived in England in October 1781. On the dissolution of parliament in 1784, he was elected for Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, and took an active part in the proceedings preparatory to the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. There was, however, a strong impression, that this conduct towards a person with whom he had so long lived in enmity, and against whom he had an avowed ill-will, was not becoming; and accordingly, when Mr. Francis was proposed, first as a member of a committee for considering the charges against Mr. Hastings, and afterwards as one of the managers of the impeachment, his nomination was negatived by great majorities.

When the French revolution occurred, he founded the society which then made so much noise, called “The Friends of the People;” and had as his associates, Mr. Fox, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Grey, and many other distinguished members of the opposition. In 1792, he

supported Mr. Fox in all his attempts to prevent the interference of this country in the affairs of France; and was universally considered as one of the warmest friends of the views of opposition. He was throughout his whole life a most zealous and disinterested supporter of the abolition of the slave trade, and distinguished himself by many powerful and brilliant displays of eloquence in favour of that measure. In 1796, he stood for Tewkesbury, but lost his election, and from that time he continued during six years without a seat in parliament. In 1802, he was nominated for Appleby, and sat for that place during several subsequent parliaments.

On the death of Earl Cornwallis, some thoughts were entertained of sending Mr. Francis to India, as governor-general. That appointment, however, never took place. But as something seemed due to him, he was invested, at the recommendation of Lord Grenville, with the insignia of the Bath, in October 1806.

In June 1817, he unexpectedly appeared at a meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, and moved a petition to the House of Commons against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, prefacing his motion by a brilliant speech. Soon after this, he experienced a long and severe illness. His malady was a disease in the prostate gland, which occasioned him great pain,—and as his constitution had always been irritable, his latter days were full of trouble. He expired at his house in St. James's Square, on the 22d December 1818, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Sir Philip was twice married. By his first wife he left a son, Philip Francis, Esq., who was called to the bar, and two daughters, both of whom were married.

He himself married a second time after he had become a septuagenarian. The name of the lady was Miss Watkins, the daughter of a clergyman.

The foregoing narrative contains an account of the principal incidents in the life of a man, whose identity with Junius was at one time considered by many persons to have been satisfactorily established; although we find it expressly declared, by the highest authorities, that it is in vain to bring forward any claimant for the honours of Junius, who cannot produce conjointly certain characteristics, the principal of which are, that he must be—"An Englishman of high rank; in confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with *ALL its secrets*. That he must also be of mature age, and independent fortune, and have a *personal hatred* against the King, the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton, Lord Mansfield, etc." Now it does appear somewhat startling to find an individual put forward as answering this description, whom we discover to be, an Irish clerk in the War Office, under twenty-seven years of age, with an income not exceeding 400*l.* per annum, and whose hatred is not pretended to extend higher than to Lord Barrington, and such small deer as Tony Shammy, a little gambling broker, who had supplanted his friend Mr. D'Oyly in his clerkship, and Tommy Bradshaw the cream-coloured Mercury!

It will undoubtedly require strong evidence to rebut this simple statement;—let us therefore see what one of the ablest of Sir Philip's advocates, the writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, has to urge in his behalf. The case is opened by the Reviewer in the following manner:—

“To the greater number of readers, the first question that presents itself is, whether Sir Philip Francis has ever shewn the eminent talents displayed in Junius’s Letters? However high his reputation may be in the political world, there is no one avowed production of his which has attracted much popular, or permanent notice, or is at present familiar to the public recollection; and he has therefore shared the fate of many able men whose time has been devoted to the business of the world, and whose labour, chiefly bestowed upon subjects connected with their pursuits, has left no lasting monuments of their skill in composition. So it has fared with Sir Philip Francis. His contemporaries well knew him to be one of the best writers of the age; but his writings consisted chiefly of minutes, protests, speeches, and pamphlets, which have long since ceased to interest the world at large, and are only known to political men, or curious inquirers into the details of modern history. We shall therefore begin the argument by presenting a few specimens of his composition, sufficient to justify the assertion, that the author of Junius, whoever he may be, was not a person of greater talents than Sir Philip Francis. The proof drawn from similarity of expressions will be further strengthened in the sequel by particular instances. All that we desire the reader, in this stage of the discussion, to consider, is the general ability displayed in the composition. We take all the examples from his speeches, carefully written and published by himself. These, though extracted from speeches, are really specimens of Sir Philip Francis’s manner of *writing*; since they were all printed from his own manuscript. We shall add, however, one passage from a letter, or

discourse, sent, like those of Junius, to a public paper, and subscribed by his own name. It is dated so late as 1811, and relates to the great question of restriction on the Regency, then in contemplation. The author was then far advanced in years;—but the reader, we think, will be of opinion, that, both in spirit and style, it bears a more striking resemblance to the papers written by Junius forty years before, than anything else that could be referred to during that long period.”

The Reviewer then gives extracts from various speeches, and a letter of Sir Philip Francis; all written long *after* the appearance of the Letters of Junius, and adds:—“Now we humbly conceive, that the most careless reader must be struck, not only with the general ability and eloquence of all these passages, but with their extraordinary coincidence with the Letters of Junius, in all their most remarkable characteristics. The boldness, and even the fierceness of the tone—the studied force and energy of the diction—the pointed epigrammatic cast of the style—the concise and frequent metaphors—and the mixture of the language of business and affairs with a certain scholastic elegance and elaborate sarcasm.”

Admitting, as we do, the fact of the similarity of style between these extracts and the writings of Junius, but denying the justness of the inference which has been drawn from the premises, it is not essential to the argument, that we should encumber our pages with the Reviewer's long quotations. We contend, that the extracts which he has given, are *inadmissible as evidence*, to prove that Sir Philip Francis was the author of the Letters of Junius. If the extracts produced could be proved to have been written *prior* to the Letters of Junius, we admit

that the argument grounded on the similarity of style would be of considerable weight; but as they are known to have been composed long *after* the publication of the Letters, it is clear that they only prove Sir Philip Francis to have been a *successful imitator of the style of Junius*, and are of no value whatever to establish Sir Philip Francis's identity with the author of compositions, which he had evidently made his study, and taken as a model for the formation of his own style.

There seems to be something extraordinary in the imitative powers of some men, which has never yet been philosophically explained, and would almost induce one to believe in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Well authenticated instances are recorded of successful imitations, amounting to what may almost be termed identification, being performed by persons of all countries not only in literature, but in every department of the fine arts.

But we need not resort to foreign examples to illustrate and prove our position; for there have been numerous instances in England, of pertinacious literary disputes, and fierce controversies, arising from a successful application of the principle of imitation, and tending to prove *the fallaciousness of the test of similarity of style to identify an author*. Such as the celebrated controversy, whether King Charles the First, or Bishop Gauden, was the author of "*Eikon Basilike*," in which the arguments on each side are so nicely balanced, that the scale remains in equilibrio to the present day. The interpolations and forgeries of Lauder, intended to blast the reputation of Milton, and published under the title of "*An Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise*

Lost,"—so imposed on Dr. Johnson, that he wrote a preface to the work, in full persuasion of Lauder's honesty; and the fraud remained undiscovered, until detected by Dr. Douglas.

There is also a little poem written by Goldsmith, called "*The Double Transformation*," in which the style of Swift is so closely imitated, that it was printed in an edition of the Dean's works as one of his genuine poems.

In the Athenæum of the 9th of July 1836, we find the following remarks, in a review of a book called "*The Desennuyée*:"—"It is singular that, with so much ability of her own, the author should have imitated so closely the style, the mannerism, the mode of thought and expression, of a contemporary writer; one is almost tempted to believe, that the object was to pass off the work as a production of Lady Morgan's, so closely does it copy even her acknowledged faults."

Indeed, most of the literary impostures and forgeries which have been perpetrated in England, can be traced to the principle of imitation, and may be referred to three classes:

First. They have either been put forth as unpublished works of some eminent author, whose style, sentiments, and sometimes his handwriting, have been imitated; or,

Secondly. They are pretended newly discovered manuscripts of some writer never before heard of, who is said to have lived in a remote age; and then, the style and manners of that particular age, are attempted to be imitated, together with the peculiar handwriting of the period;—or else,

Thirdly. They profess to be faithful translations, from the oral or written literary treasures of some remote age

and rude people; in which case, the fabricator assumes a style, and adopts sentiments, which he supposes to be characteristic of the people and age to which the works are attributed; but this last class may, perhaps, be considered, as exhibiting as much of the power of invention as of imitation.

To the *first class* belongs the celebrated "SHAKSPEARE PAPERS," forged by the younger Ireland; which imposition was, at first, attended with complete success; for Dr. Parr was a sincere believer in their authenticity, and Boswell fell upon his knees, kissed the imputed reliques, and returned thanks that he had lived to see such valuable documents brought to light. Many of the most eminent literary characters of the day solemnly certified under their hands, their belief in the authenticity of the papers, and that the drama of "Vortigern and Rowena," was unquestionably written by Shakspeare himself. Sheridan stated as his opinion, that the play might have been written by Shakspeare, but if it was, he thought the 'Sweet Swan of Avon,' must have been *drunk* when he wrote it.

After awhile, Ireland acknowledged the forgery; but this was quite a work of supererogation, for Mr. Malone had previously dissected and analyzed the whole bundle of pretended documents, and in a work replete with critical acumen and curious antiquarian lore, entitled, "*An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry Earl of Southampton,*" had laid open the whole imposture. This work is really a fine specimen of dialectical demonstration; for such are the searching tests which he applies to the spurious instruments, that the detection and exposure of the forgery is perfect and

complete; no person can read the work, and entertain a further doubt on the subject.

As a specimen of the *second class*, we would direct the reader's attention to the POEMS OF ROWLEY, produced by the boy Chatterton, in which the style and manners of the fifteenth century are so admirably imitated, that some of the best antiquarians and critics of the age were deceived, and believed them genuine; and Mr. Malone declared, "that the authenticity or spuriousness of the poems attributed to Rowley cannot be decided by any person who has not a taste for English poetry, and a moderate, at least, if not a critical knowledge of the compositions of most of our poets, from the time of Chaucer to that of Pope." And as the unfortunate Chatterton died without making any confession, the controversy is still undetermined, notwithstanding all the arguments brought on one side to support their authenticity, and on the other to prove them the forgeries of a young literary adventurer; for, as the partizans of each hypothesis declare themselves unconvinced by the evidences of the other, the matter may be considered as yet involved in doubt and obscurity. Dr. Johnson was so struck with the talent displayed in these poems, that believing them to be the compositions of Chatterton, he could not help exclaiming in astonishment, "This is the most extraordinary young man that has encountered my knowledge—it is wonderful how the *whelp* has written such things."

The POEMS OF OSSIAN may be referred to the *third class*, and made their appearance in the following manner. In the year 1760, James Macpherson surprised the world by the publication of "*Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from*

the Gaelic and Erse language." The avidity with which these seemingly long neglected remains of a rude and remote period were sought after and examined, was only to be equalled by the delight which readers of taste experienced in discovering in them a vein of poetry, which would have done honour to the most polished periods. Mr. Gray, Mr. Home, Dr. Blair, and many other competent judges, were loud in their praises. Being thus encouraged, the success of Mr. Macpherson's further researches, as reported by himself, exceeded all anticipation. He discovered one complete Epic poem of six books, called Fingal; and another as complete, of eight books, called Temora; both composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal. A translation of the former he published in 1762, and of the latter in 1763; and so extensive was their sale, that he is said to have cleared by them 1200*l*.

The authenticity of these poems was at first believed by many in its fullest extent, even by men of high character in the literary world; Dr. Blair, in particular, was so persuaded of the truth of Macpherson's statement, that he wrote an elaborate dissertation, to prove the antiquity, and illustrate the beauties of the poems. There were others, however, of equal reputation for critical acumen, who could not be persuaded of the possibility of picking up complete epics in this way, among the traditional literature of a rude country, and who, from the style of the poems themselves, openly pronounced them to be forgeries. Some few again, who doubted, but were willing to believe, and among them Mr. David Hume, put the question upon a very simple issue. Shew us the *original poems*, from which you say these transla-

tions have been made, and tell us how they have been thus wonderfully preserved during so many centuries.

Nothing could have been fairer than this appeal; but Mr. Macpherson, from motives, of which all reasonable men could form but one opinion, haughtily refused to give the public any satisfaction on the subject.

The prince of literary impostors seems, however, to have been GEORGE PSALMANAZAR; of whom it may be affirmed that,

“None but himself could be his parallel.”

Of this extraordinary man, we have the following account.

“In the beginning of the last century, there appeared in England, a person calling himself George Psalmanazar, who pretended to be a native of the island of Formosa, converted from idolatry by a certain missionary of the Society of Jesus, and that he was obliged to fly from the vengeance of the Japanese, on becoming a Christian. In support of his imposture, *he invented a language, which he wrote and spoke* to the satisfaction of curious inquirers, alleging it to be that of the island of Formosa, where he was born. He was introduced to Dr. Compton, bishop of London, who listened to his account with pity, and implicit faith; became his patron; and contributed generously towards his support. The artful conduct of the stranger in *producing, and speaking a language, alphabet, and grammar, purely of his own invention*, and of his eating raw meat, roots, and herbs, soon rendered him an object of public notice, and occasioned much curious disquisition, between many characters of the first rank in church and state. Psalmanazar drew up in Latin, an account of the island of Formosa, which was translated and hurried through the press, had a rapid sale, and is quoted,

without suspicion, by Buffon. While his adherence to certain singularities in his manner and diet, gathered from popular opinion, or from books, considerably strengthened the imposition, for the carrying on which he was eminently qualified, by possessing a command of countenance, temper, and recollection, which no perplexity, rough usage, or cross examination, could ruffle or derange. By the favour of the Bishop of Oxford, who proved a warm friend in his cause, Psalmanazar was sent to the University of Oxford. On his return to London, he drew up, at the desire of his ecclesiastical friends, a version of the Church Catechism, in what he called his native tongue, which was examined by the learned, and found regular and grammatical, and pronounced a *real language*, and no counterfeit. At last, the critics, headed by Dr. Douglas, 'the scourge of impostures, the terror of quacks,' pointed out various absurdities, and many contradictions in Psalmanazar's narrative, as well as in his declarations; by which he was lowered in the general esteem, his benefactors gradually withdrew their support, and the fraud become at length understood."

He was afterwards employed by the booksellers in writing part of the Universal History, and by degrees became quiet, and comparatively respectable. Privately, he confessed his imposture, but could never be prevailed upon to disclose his real name and country (supposed to be the south of France) saying, he was afraid of disgracing his family. In the opinion of Dr. Johnson, who knew Psalmanazar in his latter years, his repentance was sincere; and Johnson used to say, that the sorrows of Psalmanazar in speaking of his deception, were heartfelt, strong and energetic; it was no common grief, arising

from blasted hopes, but a real hatred of himself, for the crime he had committed, and a dread of that punishment which he thought he had deserved.

With these numerous facts before us, it surely ought not to excite the least surprise, to find that the terse and brilliant style of Junius has been successfully imitated by Sir Philip Francis and others.

Mr. Barker strenuously denies that Sir Philip had either talents or leisure to write the Letters of Junius. "I ask," says he, "Mr. Taylor, whether he supposes that an inferior clerk in the War-Office, which Mr. Taylor himself confesses to have required from its officers, constant attendance, could, at the age of twenty-seven (when the earliest production of Junius appeared), have found leisure,—first, to learn the profession of authorship,—secondly, to practise it,—thirdly, to commence the practice with writing, for a regular series of years, papers perfect in their style of composition? The fact is not at all credible; and is so opposed to common experience, that, if it had actually occurred, it must be regarded as miraculous; and the testimony, even of an ocular witness, could not easily work its way to our belief. But admitting that Sir Philip was constantly resident in town during this period (and his private correspondence with his friends, as well as the transactions in the War-Office, would confirm or refute the fact of constant attendance); admitting that he was the amanuensis of Junius; admitting that, notwithstanding his situation at the War-Office required constant attendance, he had leisure to correspond with Woodfall so frequently and fully, in the name of Junius,—I must in the most positive manner deny the possibility of his having *leisure* to compose the public

Letters of Junius, which presuppose the most ample leisure and the most undivided attention;—I will admit that Sir Philip had the ‘industry,’—I will admit that he had the ‘opportunities;’—but I will not admit, with Mr. Taylor, that he had the ‘*talents*.’ Mr. Taylor has produced no proof whatever that Sir Philip was, *at the time in question*, possessed of ‘the talents.’ It does not necessarily follow that, because a man at the age of forty exhibits great powers of reasoning and much skill in composition, he must have had the same, or similar powers and skill, when he was twenty-seven (the period when the earliest of the *Miscellaneous Letters*, without the name of Junius, appeared), or twenty-nine, (when the earliest public *Letter of Junius* appeared with that signature). There is often a very late, as well as a very early development of abilities; circumstances as often retard the one, as they promote the other.”—*Barker’s Letters*, pp. 44 and 121.

“Sir Philip, it should seem, had written nothing before he entered the War-Office—not one of his avowed publications bear a date prior to the first acknowledged compositions of Junius. The evidence, then, in favour of Sir Philip, apparently strong on other points, totally fails here. But had Sir Philip published any paper in the style of Junius, prior to the appearance of Junius’s, it would have been a powerful argument for Sir Philip’s claim, in connexion with the other testimony.” (p. 33).

“Sir Philip might, by a frequent perusal of Junius’s *Letters* as a model of composition, have gradually obtained all that energy of expression, that cogency of reasoning, and that power of sarcasm, for which Sir Philip was, long subsequently to the retirement of Junius, remarkable.” (p. 35).

In order to afford the reader a clear view of the principal facts and arguments that have been advanced for and against the claim of Sir Philip Francis, we shall proceed to give, first, the Reviewer's statements in favour of his claim, and then an abstract of Mr. Barker's answers thereto.

"There are many particular circumstances of a personal and historical nature," adds the Reviewer, "that go far to make out the proposition, that Sir Philip Francis was the author of the Letters of Junius. The first of these is the exactness with which the dates of the letters tally with Sir Philip Francis's residence in this country, and his going abroad. In biographical memoirs, understood to have been drawn up by a person connected with him, it is stated, that Sir Philip spent the greatest part of the year 1772 on the continent. Now, the last letter of Junius in that year, is dated May 12th, and was received by Woodfall two days before. Sir Philip Francis's dismissal from the War-Office is announced in one of the letters of 'Veteran' (a name under which Woodfall has shewn that Junius then wrote), dated March 23d; and some time must naturally have elapsed before he set out. A letter of Junius, dated in May, mentions his having been out of town; and, in point of fact, he wrote nothing from March 23d to May 4th. Sir Philip's father was then ill at Bath; and it is most probable that he went to see him before going abroad. From the above notice in the memoirs, it appears that he must have returned at the end of 1772, or early in 1773, provided we are satisfied that he went abroad in May: for it is there stated, that about half-a-year after his return, he was recommended as one of the new Council at Fort William. Now, the Act appointing the Council passed in June

1773; which tallies with the supposition of his arrival having been in the month of December or January preceding. Keeping these facts in view, it is very important to remark, that the first letter received by Woodfall from Junius, after the letter of May 1772, is dated January 19, 1773. This, too, was also the last letter which he ever wrote. The appointment of Sir Philip Francis to India, was, either then or soon after, in agitation; for it was finally arranged before June. And the presumption is, that the prospect of being sent to India put a period to the labours of Junius.

Ans.—I must confess that these are singular coincidences; but if circumstances of this kind are to be considered as decisive evidences, the pretensions of many other claimants are so far equally good. For—1. It appears that the final note of Junius to Woodfall is dated January 19, 1773, and Lloyd died on the 23d of the same month. 2. A speech of Burke's was reported by Junius and sent to Almon for publication, and is the only existing report of the speech. 3. Junius writes with a minute knowledge of military affairs, and Lord George Sackville is thence supposed to have written the Letters of Junius. 4. Junius and General Lee coincide in personal hatred of the Duke of Grafton, in the use of certain very remarkable phrases, and in a quotation from Seneca. It would be easy to multiply instances of curious agreement between Junius and several of the claimants; but the aggregate number of similar instances, in reference to the entire number of claimants, may serve to convince the wary that it is not safe, in the case of any particular claimant, to rely confidently on any such agreement. (p. 163).

Rev.—It is known that Sir Philip was a clerk in the War Office from 1763 to 1772; and Junius evinces a peculiar acquaintance with, and interest in, the business and persons of that department. As some of those persons are obscure individuals, compared with the distinguished objects of his ordinary attacks, a very strong presumption arises from hence, that the anonymous writer was himself connected with the office; and the familiar tone in which they are mentioned, greatly strengthens the conclusion. We shall principally advert to what he says of Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Chamier, and Mr. D'Oyly. Junius, in the thirty-sixth letter, dwells at some length upon Bradshaw's pension, and speaks of him in terms indicative of considerable personal animosity. In a note, he says, "He was too cunning to trust Irish security." He gives a sketch of his history, tracing him from his beginning, "as a clerk to a contractor for forage,"—to his being exalted to a petty place in the War Office,—and sarcastically remarking, that, upon his subsequent promotion, he thought it necessary to take the great house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where the Lord Chancellor Worthington had resided. In the fifty-seventh letter, he is called the Duke of Grafton's "cream-coloured parasite;" and in the letters signed Domitian and Veteran, published by Woodfall, he is familiarly mentioned as Tommy Bradshaw, the cream-coloured Mercury, whose sister, Miss Polly, like the moon, lives upon the light of her brother's countenance, and robs him of no small part of his lustre. In a letter, also written by Junius, but under another name, Bradshaw is said to observe, that the writer has drawn his intelligence from the first source, and not the common falsities of the day; and of this, he

says, Bradshaw cannot be ignorant. But although it is clear that Junius's prejudice against this gentleman was of long standing, and connected with his more obscure situation in the War Office, it is also true, that, at the time of the attacks upon him, he filled a considerable station, and was more in the public eye. This, however, can hardly be said of Mr. Chamier, upon whom a far more incessant fire is kept up. He is termed, that well-educated, genteel young broker, Mr. Chamier. A scene is figured between Lord Barrington, his patron, and a general officer, in which every kind of ridicule is thrown upon Chamier. He is called Tony Shammy—Little Shammy—a tight, active little fellow—a little gambling broker—Little Waddlewell—my Duckling—Little Three per Cents. reduced—a mere scrip of a secretary—an omnium of all that's genteel—with many other coarse and scurrilous appellations. No less than four letters are addressed to Lord Barrington in the bitterest tone of invective, in consequence of Chamier's promotion; and it appears that his relationship with Bradshaw is one of the chief grounds of attack upon the latter.

Ans.—Mr. Taylor contends, from several arguments, that “Junius was in some degree connected with the Horse Guards.” “There is such precision in the secret intelligence from that quarter, conveyed to Woodfall or to the public, as occurs in no other department of the state, and could not be acquired from this, except by one who had access to the fountain-head for information.” Admitting the fact to be so, am I obliged to admit that Sir Philip was the sole oracle consulted? Am I obliged to believe that an *inferior clerk* could know all the secrets of his principals in the office? Am I obliged to confess

that *Lord George Sackville* and others could not, directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally, have conveyed some of this secret information? (p. 225).

Does the military language of *Junius* merely betray such "minute and commissarial knowledge" as might be expected from one connected with the Horse Guards or the War Office? Or does it exhibit a practical or theoretical knowledge of the military art itself? In the former case it is equally applicable to *Lord George Sackville* and *Sir Philip Francis*; and in the latter case it so far favours the pretensions of *General Lee*. (p. 41).

Rev.—It is to be observed, that *Junius* took care not to write any of the letters upon *Chamier's* promotion, under his usual signature, because this would at once have directed the suspicions of the public towards the War Office, as the quarter in which he lurked, and even towards the individuals chiefly interested in the questions respecting *Chamier*. For the same reason, we find him urging *Woodfall* to conceal his being the author of these attacks upon *Lord Barrington*. Keep the author a secret, says he, (*Woodfall*, i. 125); that is, keep the secret that *Junius*, *Veteran*, *Nemesis*, etc., are the same person; for he knew no other author than *Junius*. It is, however, not at all improbable, that the clue to the discovery of *Sir Philip Francis* was furnished by these letters on the War Office; for they are the last ever written by *Junius*, except the private letter to *Woodfall* in January 1773; so that he seems, on being detected, probably by *Lord Barrington*, to have given over writing; and he was soon after appointed to the Council in *Calcutta*.

Ans.—Had the earliest publication of *Junius* been

simultaneous with the appearance of the letters of *Veteran*, there would have been much force in the arguments of Mr. Taylor for identifying the two writers with Sir Philip, as we can easily conceive that a man wishing to plead his own cause may contrive to identify it with public questions,—that public spirit may arise out of private motives,—that public good may be the professed aim, while individual interest is the secret spring,—and that patriotism may be apparently the ruling principle, while party purposes are the latent and real objects. Events of this kind are, even in our times, sufficiently obvious to attest the truth of this remark. Sir Philip Francis might, as a clerk in the War Office, with the consciousness of slighted services, or as a man with the vengeance of outraged feelings, have had good reason for exposing the transactions of that office to public animadversion—for denouncing certain individuals—for appealing to public sympathy, and for indentifying his cause with the public good. All this is perfectly natural and quite intelligible,—it might have given birth to a *Junius*, but unluckily for the hypothesis, *Junius had sprung up two or three years before*; at first under other names, and then under that Roman appellation—*Junius*—had taken his station, and that elevated station related not to the proceedings of the War Office alone or chiefly, avowedly or secretly, which we should have expected from Sir Philip Francis as a clerk in that office; but to the proceedings of the ministry and of the parliament, and the general transactions of the empire, and to the advancement of the public interests. Influenced then by this consideration, I cannot admit the claims made for Sir Philip Francis to the authorship of *Junius*, and

I would urge on the mind of the reader this novel objection, with all the force with which it can be employed. (p. 4).

If the letters of *Veteran* were known to be the composition of Sir Philip himself, it would not thence follow that Junius, who sent them to Woodfall, was the writer of them, though he took pains to inform him that he was the writer—the subject suited the political purposes of Junius, and that would of itself be a sufficient motive for him to let them pass under the *shadow* of his name. (p. 226).

Rev.—Junius also shews an uncommon acquaintance with, and interest in, the transactions of the Foreign Department as well as the War Office; and the period to which his knowledge refers, precedes the death of Lord Egremont in 1763. Now Sir Philip was appointed a clerk in the Foreign Office in 1756; and having afterwards gone to St. Cas, as General Bligh's secretary in 1758, and to Lisbon in 1760, with Lord Kinnoul; he returned to the Foreign Office between October 1761, and August 1763; for, in a speech made by Sir Philip in the House of Commons, he says, "that he possessed Lord Egremont's favour in the Secretary of State's Office; and that nobleman came into it, October 1761, and died August 1763."

Ans.—A man like Junius, conversant with courts and courtiers, and ministers, and officers civil and military, and members of parliament, was much more likely to obtain secret news from some of them, than from an *inferior clerk* in a public office, who could be expected to furnish only facts and circumstances and proceedings of a minor importance, because they alone would fall within his ken. (p. 224).

Rev.—The manner in which Junius always treats Lord Chatham, coincides exactly with the expressions of Sir Philip in his speeches and writing; and is such as might naturally be expected to result from the kindness he had received from that great man, as well as from his known principles. But the high admiration of Lord Chatham, which Junius has shewn, seems not easily reconciled with his kindness towards his antagonist Lord Holland.

Ans.—In order to identify Sir Philip with Junius from the sentiments avowed by each about Lord Chatham, Mr. Taylor is required to prove that Sir Philip *ever at any period of his whole life* sympathized with Junius in *personal hatred* and political hostility, or even in the smallest degree of personal and political aversion, to Lord Chatham; if he cannot produce such a proof, then I maintain that he ought to abandon his opinion as quite untenable, from this consideration alone. Had Junius felt and avowed, on every occasion throughout his political career, an ardent attachment to the person, and the highest respect for the talents and the character, of Lord Chatham, and a particular delight in adopting his sentiments and applying his language, as we know to have been the case in regard to Sir Philip Francis, then I hesitate not to declare that there would have been such a proof of identity between these two patriots, as would have been most satisfactory, and perhaps conclusive on the question. Junius's early aversion to Lord Chatham was political, and his late attachment to him was political only; whereas Sir Philip never had any political aversion to him, and always felt, professed, and manifested a steady personal attachment to him. Junius represents Lord Chatham to have been a public criminal and a

political apostate, and Sir Philip merely describes him as "a great, illustrious, faulty human being;" and therefore Junius and Sir Philip were unquestionably two distinct persons.—Sir Philip is, in his public character, allowed by all impartial men to have been a man of the most unblemished moral integrity, and of the purest political principles. Now, to suppose him to have been the author of Junius, is in fact to proclaim him a villain of no vulgar cast; for he must henceforth be regarded by us as a base ingrate to his great benefactor, patron, and friend, the Earl of Chatham, without any assigned or assignable cause. It is to proclaim Sir Philip a hypocrite of the deepest dye, professing in his parliamentary speeches and avowed productions to have ever felt the strongest attachment to the person, and the highest veneration for the character, of Lord Chatham, when he had in truth commenced his literary and political career by a series of virulent and anonymous libels on him. (p. 30).

Rev.—Junius shews a manifest forbearance towards the Fox family, not under his usual signature of Junius, but under another, assumed for the obvious purpose of concealing it, and yet of keeping them from forcing him into a contest with them. The history of Sir Philip at once explains all this. His father was Lord Holland's domestic chaplain, lived on intimate terms with him, and dedicated his translation of Demosthenes to him, as the patron to whom he owed his church preferment. Sir Philip himself received from Lord Holland his first place in the Foreign Office.

There is reason to believe, that Junius was known to Garrick. Sir Philip Francis has told us, in the preface to the play of *Eugenia*, that he enjoyed the "friendship

and esteem of Garrick."—Under the administration of Mr. Grenville, Sir Philip was appointed to the War Office; with that statesman he most nearly concurred in all political opinions; and Mr. Grenville was above all men the declared favourite of Junius.

Ans.—If Junius did not, from motives of friendship, spare Garrick, why should he from such motives spare Lord Holland? If Sir Philip Francis were Junius, he was evidently the most unprincipled politician and the most profligate writer that ever lived; and I cannot admit any argument founded on the honour or delicacy of Sir Philip. There is no particular point in the argument about Mr. Grenville, because it would apply much more strongly to *Charles Lloyd*, who was the private Secretary to Mr. Grenville, and to *Lord George Sackville*, who entertained a very high opinion of Mr. Grenville, as an individual, and as a statesman. (p. 224).

Rev.—It is clear, from his private correspondence, that Junius bore a great personal good-will towards *Woodfall*, and in a letter to Mr. Wilkes, he expresses much anxiety about Woodfall's safety; says that the danger to which he is exposed, afflicts and distresses him; and plainly insinuates, that he has spared Lord Mansfield for Woodfall's sake; but, for other publishers, he seems to have felt no such tenderness; for he frequently tells Woodfall, if he is afraid himself, that he may send such and such letters to other printers, whom he names. Now, it appears that Woodfall was only a year older than Sir Philip, and was educated at St. Paul's School, where the latter is known to have been bred; and it is said, that Mr. Woodfall's son speaks of the acquaintance formed there between Sir Philip and his father, as having

given rise to a mutual kindness during their after lives, though they rarely met. This tallies peculiarly well with the suspicion expressed by Junius in one part of his correspondence, that Woodfall might know him. He says, "I beg you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am."

Ans.—Junius preferred Woodfall's paper, not because Woodfall was his schoolfellow and his friend, but because his paper was on many accounts the fittest receptacle for his articles—because he could rely on the moral integrity, and the personal courage, and the political consistency of Woodfall. He gave the second preference to *Almon* for similar reasons, and not from any particular friendship for him. (p. 129).

In a letter from Mr. Coventry to Mr. Barker, dated June 18th, 1828, he says—"I breakfasted with Mr. Woodfall yesterday morning at Westminster: he presents his compliments, and requested me to forward the anecdote about Francis, if of any use. You are doubtless aware that his father and Francis were schoolfellows—educated at St. Paul's School. In after years they generally attended the anniversary dinners. On one of these occasions, on Mr. Woodfall's returning home, he met an intimate friend, who said—'I met you and Junius going to the Pauline Festival.' 'To whom do you allude?' replied Mr. Woodfall. 'Francis to be sure, there is no other Junius.' 'To my certain knowledge,' replied Mr. Woodfall, 'Francis had no more to do with Junius than either you or I.' The gentleman was quite satisfied with Mr. Woodfall's positive denial, and wished him good evening. Mr. Woodfall informed me, that there were many reasons why Francis had no hand in the

Letters—his father knew him so well—his capabilities—his confined situation—the sphere which he moved in, as well as the risk that he would run in being thrown upon the world neglected,—all concurred, united with his positive denial, to cause Mr. Woodfall to know, that the motto '*Stat nominis umbra*' would never be solved in the son of Dr. Francis."—*Barker's Pref.* 61.

Rev.—It appears, from various passages in Junius, that the author used to attend the debates in parliament, and that he frequently took notes of the more important speeches: that he did so, more especially, in the years 1770 and 1771, is clearly proved, by his quoting Lord Chatham's speeches, from reports not then made public, and by his frequently referring to debates in which he was present. Sir Philip Francis is known to have been an occasional attendant upon the debates during the same period,—for he cites Lord Chatham's speeches at that time as having heard them; and there seems no reason to doubt that he is the member of parliament, described by Almon in his life of Lord Chatham, as having furnished him with notes of those speeches, taken by him when he was not in parliament. But there is a more remarkable coincidence than this between Junius and Sir Philip:—Lord Chatham's speech, at the opening of the session in January 1770, was reported by Sir Philip, and communicated, first to Almon, who published it 1791, and then to the Parliamentary History (xvi. 647). The publisher of the latter work informed Mr. Taylor, that he received it from Sir Philip, who was present at the debate. Now, a comparison of this speech with some of Junius's letters, proves very satisfactorily that Junius must either have heard the speech, and taken notes of it,

or received notes from somebody who was present; and not only so, but that the notes which he took or received were nearly the same with those taken by Sir Philip.

There are many expressions in the speeches of Lord Chatham, reported by Sir Philip, which appear to be favourite expressions of Junius: thus—*‘false fact’*—*‘I am a plain man’*—*ipso facto*—*the law of the land*—*simplicity of common sense, etc.*

Ans.—These circumstances are not positive proofs of identity, but only strong presumptions; and, as there are strong presumptions in favour of many other claims for the authorship of Junius, we should exercise great caution in receiving such evidence in any particular case. Junius had great and real occasion “to attend the debates,” because he wished “to collect the scattered sweets” of parliamentary eloquence, and to obtain authentic political information; and “to take notes,” because he wished to refer to them as guides; and “to report speeches,” because he wished for his own purpose to diffuse the information which he possessed. But Sir Philip Francis, as an *inferior clerk* in a public office, should be presumed to have had very different objects in view; and there is nothing to prove that these objects were political, and every thing to presume that they were not. As a man patronized and befriended by Lord Chatham, whom a youthful mind would in any circumstances admire, and whom Sir Philip in his own circumstances must have loved, there can be no doubt that, if he took notes of, and reported any speeches, he would feel particular delight in selecting the speeches of Lord Chatham. As a clever man, and of steady habits in business, he would very probably be requested to take

notes and report speeches, by any person who for his own purposes wished to have an account of parliamentary proceedings—even Junius himself might, directly or indirectly, have employed the head and the pen of Sir Philip in this way. An inferior clerk in a public office, who possessed shining talents, and constantly resided in London, is precisely the person who would be likely to eke out in this manner the deficiencies of income for a genteel competency; and refined notions of honour, and delicate scruples of conscience, must not be expected from a man in that dependent situation. (p. 222).

Rev.—There are many favourite expressions in the avowed original works of Sir Philip, which Junius also indulges habitually:—‘*Of his side*’—‘*so far forth*’—‘*I mean the public service*’—‘*(for, I would promote).*’ There is, moreover, in the general manner of writing, a resemblance extremely striking, especially where the author is off his guard, and permits his natural temper to appear. Sir Philip’s later works resemble, in this respect, the private notes to Woodfall, so strikingly, that we need scarcely to give any examples. There is, for instance, a short note of Sir Philip in this publication, in the following terms:—‘*Pray* never mind anything I say, I *slave* myself to death, and write and speak on instant impression; so I am very sorry if I have offended you.’ The very same tone, and almost the same words, occur in two notes of Junius, printed by Woodfall;—one of which begins—‘*Pray* tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you;’ and ends, ‘and so I wish you good-night:’ and another runs thus—‘Make yourself easy about me—I know you are an honest man—I am never angry—I am overcome with the slavery

of writing.' We have not room to add other instances; but we have heard, that, among those persons in London who have lived in his society, and are acquainted with his mode of expression, the conviction of his being the author of the Letters, is exceedingly strengthened by this likeness.

Ans.—The above "favourite expressions" are satisfactorily accounted for, on the supposition that Sir Philip was the imitator of Junius. It is unnatural to suppose that such a phrase, as "I am overcome with the *slavery* of writing," would fall from the pen of one, who had, at the time in question, been upwards of twenty years, and was still employed, as a secretary or as a clerk. Writing could not be so irksome to *him*; nor could it be irksome to Burke, whose pen was so incessantly at work; though it might be irksome to *General Lee*, or to *Lord George Sackville*. But it is possible that Sir Philip might, either by mere coincidence with Junius, or by imitation of him, use such a phrase, and feel the truth of the idea, after his return from a high station in India, when he had forgotten, or was willing to forget, the secretaryships and clerkships of his youth. (p. 93).

Rev.—Sir Philip's appointment to India is extremely well accounted for, by the supposition that he was the author of Junius's Letters. That a clerk in the War Office should, without having done anything to make him known, be sent out at once as a member of the Supreme Council, to which, for the first time, the powers of government were about to be entrusted, seems at any rate sufficiently strange to require an explanation.

He was not connected by family with any man of weight in the ministry; he was wholly unknown at the India House; he was equally obscure in the public eye;

nor does it appear that he had any patron who interested himself in his promotion, previously to the spring of 1772, since, at that time, *he was turned out of the office*, to make way for a favourite of the minister, in whose department he served. The next thing we hear of, after this dismissal, is his mission to India as a satrap, in very critical circumstances. But there is nothing surprising in the appointment, if we suppose that he either suffered himself to be known, or was detected, as Junius after his removal from the War Office; and that the minister, now made aware of his extraordinary talents, and of the risk to which they might expose him, recommended a step, justified by the qualifications of Sir Philip, and counselled by his own apprehension. If the secret was only communicated to one man—if Sir Philip knew this, and made that one man personally responsible for its being kept, there was no doubt it will be so. There was something in the nature of the transaction which imposed silence upon both the parties; and Sir Philip, who had the chief interest in its concealment, was ready, during the whole lifetime of the other party, to watch over his fulfilment of the compact.

Ans.—The administration of the day, in appointing a council for the government of Bengal, would naturally look round among their own friends, connexions, and dependents, for a proper person to fill the important office. On inquiry they found Sir Philip well qualified for the situation, and recommended to them as such a person. They knew that he had in 1756 held a post in the Secretary of State's Office; in 1758, was appointed secretary to General Bligh; in 1760, secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, ambassador to Lisbon; and in 1763,

had held an important place in the War Office, which he continued to hold till 1772. His moral character was, therefore, perfectly well known to the Government; they had had abundant experience of his capacity for public business, and his adroitness in official arrangements; and they must have discovered in him the germ of those talents, which he was afterwards found to display, and which amply justified their choice. They were of course aware that he had quitted the War Office, in consequence of a quarrel with Lord Barrington; but this personal affair between him and his lordship was no sufficient reason why they should decline appointing Mr. Francis to a high office, which he was, in their opinion, so well qualified to fill. They justly considered him to have a claim on them for a long career of public services. They would not have appointed him to the Indian post, if Lord Barrington had opposed the appointment; but they perceived that his lordship not only did not oppose, but even recommended the appointment;* and it was not necessary for the ministry to weigh the motives of Lord Barrington in recommending it, whether he was tendering to the public service a valuable servant, or was merely desirous to deport an incorrigible offender, or to expel a dangerous enemy to India. This seems to me a fair way of accounting for the promotion of Sir Philip. I grant that, if Lord Barrington had been a personage of *demoniacal malignity—such malignity as belonged to Junius himself*,—he would not only not have consented to the

* Lord Barrington's brother, the late bishop of Durham, informed Mr. Butler, that Sir Philip was indebted for his appointment in India to Lord Barrington's recommendation of him to Lord North.—*Butler's Reminis.* i. 94.

appointment of Sir Philip, but have resisted it in the most determined manner. As, however, I am not disposed to believe that such a spirit actuated his lordship, and as I do believe that the generality of mankind would in the same circumstances have acted in the way which I imagine, and under the feelings which I have described, I cannot think that the elevation of Sir Philip is so very *marvellous* an event as to require a *miracle* to attest it; for it is little less than *miraculous* to make an *inferior clerk* in the War Office the author of Junius's *Letters*. (p. 153).

Rev.—We shall now briefly advert to one or two particulars of evidence more strictly external than any which has yet been considered.

From several parts of the correspondence with Woodfall, it should seem that Junius frequently *delivered the letters himself*. When he employed another hand, we may be well assured it was that of a porter or other ordinary messenger, as was ascertained, in one instance, by Wilkes, who examined the person, and learned that he received the packet from a gentleman. That he should entrust anybody with his secret, for the mere purpose of conveying the letters, appears highly improbable; and to have given a packet for Woodfall to a friend to carry, would have been telling him the whole. The figure and appearance of Sir Philip is stated to answer the description of the tall gentleman seen by Mr. Jackson to throw a letter of Junius into Mr. Woodfall's office.

Ans.—If Sir Philip Francis were the messenger seen by Mr. Jackson, it would not prove his identity with Junius, because Sir Philip might have been both the amanuensis and the messenger of Junius. (p. 59).

Rev.—There are various peculiarities of spelling which

occur uniformly in both writers; and neither of them has any such peculiarity that is not common to both. Thus, they both write “practise” with an s; compleatly, instead of completely; *ingross*, *intire*, *intrust*, and many other such words which we usually begin with an e—endeavor without an u; *skreen* with a k; and several others. There may not be much in any of these instances taken singly; but when we find that *all* the peculiarities that belong to either writer are common to both, it is impossible not to receive them as ingredients in the mass of evidence.

It is stated by a person who examined, with Wilkes, the form and folding of the letters received by him, that they both agreed in ‘thinking they could see marks of the writer’s habit of folding and directing official letters.’

Last of all, a careful examination has been instituted of the handwriting of Junius; and the specimens published by Woodfall have been diligently compared with letters of Sir Philip’s. Those of Junius are known to be all written in a feigned hand; but its general character agrees well with that of Sir Philip’s. Wherever, in the hurry of writing, (for example, where a word is interlined), the natural hand, or something near it, breaks out, the resemblance is more complete; and certain peculiarities, preserved in the feigned hand, occur also in Sir Philip’s. We cannot follow the comparison through its minute details; but we are confident that it must go far towards satisfying those whom the rest of the argument may have failed to convince.

When Sir Philip Francis signs with his initials, he draws a short strong line above and below them. The very same lines are uniformly drawn under and over the

initials with which Junius signs his private letters to Woodfall. In correcting the press, they both use, instead of the ordinary sign of deletion, a different and very peculiar sign, exactly the same in both. They both place the asterisk or star of reference to a foot-note at the *beginning*, and not at the *end* of the passage to which it belongs—contrary to what may be termed the invariable usage of other writers. They both write the words *you* and *yours*, in all cases, with a large Y, the form of which is strikingly alike in both authors. They also use a half-large C at the beginning of a word,—of a peculiar and characteristic formation. Their ciphers or numerals are all formed exactly on the same plan; as are most of their compound letters. Instead of a round dot over the *i*, they both invariably use an oblique stroke, sloping in the opposite direction to that of the general writing; and they mark their quotations, not by inverted commas, but by short perpendicular lines. They are both uniformly correct, and systematic in the punctuation of their MSS. Both write a distinct little *a* over &c.; and connect words divided at the end of a line, not by a hyphen, but a colon, which is repeated, contrary to general usage, at the beginning of the second line, as well as at the end of the first.

As the above statement does not appear to have been answered by Mr. Barker, or any one else, we suppose it must be considered unanswerable. Mr. Barker attempts, indeed, to shew the *improbability* of the Letters of Junius being in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, on account of his writing being so well known to Lord Barrington, and other official persons; *but as many things which at first appear highly improbable, turn out, upon*

investigation, to be true, it is quite clear that Mr. Barker's ingenious reasoning cannot overturn Mr. Taylor's *statement of facts*, namely, "that the peculiar orthography and the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis correspond with the Letters of Junius in Mr. Woodfall's possession."

This statement having now been many years before the public without being denied, disproved, or impugned, must be considered as having stood the necessary test, and admitted to be true.

At the same time it should be remembered, that we are quite in the dark as to whether the Letters were written by the hand of Junius himself, or that of an amanuensis, or whether some of them were written by the one, and some by the other. And all the circumstances of the similarity of handwriting, and peculiarity of orthography, may be fully accounted for on the supposition, of Sir Philip having been the amanuensis of Junius. But this is a point Mr. Barker declined discussing; for he tells us, "I shall not, on the present occasion, examine the claims of Sir Philip to be considered as the amanuensis of Junius; he may or may not have been the amanuensis; I know not what opinion I might, on mature consideration, form about this point." (p. 112).

In November 1817, when the Review, from which the foregoing extracts are taken, was published, Sir Philip Francis was still living, and it will be seen from the following passage, that the Reviewer confidently anticipated the full disclosure of the secret at his death, for he says:—"There are some other considerations, of a more general nature, which deserve notice in this argument. Sir Philip Francis is still living; and that of itself

furnishes a ground of presumption. The *improbability is great*, that the real Junius should have died, and left no trace by which to detect him. That he should have wished to be for ever unknown, is not likely ; that he should have been able to elude all discovery, *after his decease*, is still less so. The curiously bound set of Letters which he had from Woodfall by his own directions, at once afforded a reason for believing that he intended to retain the means of proving his title, at a distant period, and exposed him to detection after his death, if he allowed that event to happen before he declared himself.”—But alas ! these expectations were never realized, for Sir Philip Francis died on the 22d December 1818, without ‘making any sign,’ to corroborate the suspicions of his being the veritable Junius.

“It should be remembered by the reader,” says Mr. Barker, “that this celebrated Review does not contain any new facts, or the development of any new principles of reasoning, for the elucidation of this subject, and that it does not display any particular acquaintance with the subject; but that its sole merit consists in a clear and succinct, an able and *lawyer-like* statement of the evidence which is contained in Mr. Taylor’s book; and that this book, with Woodfall’s Junius, is apparently the only book on the question which the Reviewer had studied.”

“The impression produced by Mr. Taylor’s well written pamphlet,” says Dr. Parr in a letter which has been laid before the public—“and an elaborate critique on it in the Edinburgh Review, still direct the national faith towards Sir Philip Francis. He was too proud to tell a lie, and he disclaimed the work. He was too vain to refuse

celebrity, which he was conscious of deserving. He was too intrepid to shrink, when danger had nearly passed by. He was too irascible to keep the secret, by the publication of which, he, at this time of day, could injure no party with which he is connected, nor any individual for whom he cared. Besides, dear sir, we have many books of his writing upon many subjects, and all of them stamped with the same character of mind. Their general lexis (as we say in Greek), has no resemblance to the lexis of *Junius*; and the resemblance in particulars, can have far less weight than the resemblance of which there is no vestige. Francis uniformly writes English. There is Gallicism in *Junius*. Francis is furious, but not malevolent. Francis is never cool, and *Junius* is seldom ardent."

Mr. Butler also makes the following remarks upon the critique in the *Edinburgh Review*:—"That respectable writer produced several passages from the works, of which Sir Philip was certainly the author, and finds in them a similar tone and equal merit. With due deference to his authority, the reminiscence begs leave to think, that if these passages shew that Sir Philip was no mean writer, they also prove that he was not *Junius*. To bring the question to a direct issue—Are the glow and loftiness discernible in every page of *Junius*, once visible in any of these extracts? Where do we find in the writings of Sir Philip, those thoughts that breathe, words that burn, which *Junius* scatters in every page? a single drop of the *cobra capella*, which falls from *Junius* so often? The advocates of the claim in favour of Sir Philip urge as a strong circumstance in its support, that, without family, without patronage, without any

one pretension to the notice of the king or the minister, he was suddenly raised from an obscure seat in the War Office, to a situation of dignity and emolument, which a nobleman would be happy to procure for his son. This, they say, shews that something was attached to Sir Philip Francis, which rendered the purchase of him, at that time, even at a very high price, an object to government. Now, at the critical moment, in which Sir Philip Francis was thus promoted, Junius ceased to write:—this, they conclude, makes it highly probable that the silence of Junius was purchased by the promotion of Sir Philip.

“But this is open to several observations.—In all his correspondence with Woodfall, Junius describes himself,—and very unaffectedly,—as a man of fortune, mixing at large with the world; and promises to indemnify him against any pecuniary loss which he might sustain in consequence of any prosecutions for the Letters; leaving him, however, to abide its other consequences. Nothing of this is reconcileable with the situation of Sir Philip Francis at the time when these Letters appeared:—It should be added, that Sir Philip was then very young. Junius had evidently been a great constitutional reader; does Sir Philip appear to have been such, from any of his writings—even the latest?” But to bring the matter at once to issue, Mr. Butler transcribes from the article on Junius, in the *Edinburgh Review*, a passage from a publication, in which Sir Philip attacks Lord Thurlow; then, inserts a passage in which Junius attacks Lord Mansfield, and requests the reader will compare them; and, afterwards, compare the extract from Junius, with the passage on Hyder Ally’s invasion of the Carnatic, transcribed from one of Mr. Burke’s

speeches; and asks, "will not he find the inferiority of Sir Philip so great, as to render it impossible that he should have been the author of Junius's Letters? On the other hand, will he not find the difference, we do not say in the styles, but in the minds of Junius and Burke, to be such, as to render it quite evident that Burke and Junius were not the same persons?"—*Butler's Reminis.* i. 93.

"I agree with my enlightened and excellent friend Mr. Butler in many of his positions," says Mr. Barker; "those I shall pass over, and merely notice such as require some observations.

"Mr. Butler considers Junius to have been 'a man of rank, from the tone of equality which he seems to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them,' and from the difficulty, which a man of an inferior rank would experience in maintaining this 'tone of equality.' Now, it is rather extraordinary that he should not have applied this remark to Sir Philip Francis, and seized it as a fair and strong argument against his claims. For—1. Sir Philip was 'a man of inferior rank;' 2. He was a man of inferior station, holding at the time an *under-clerkship* in the War Office; 3. He must, at the age of twenty-seven (when the earliest known production of Junius appeared), be presumed not to have attained what Mr. Butler properly considers to be matter of difficult attainment, viz. 'the tone of equality' alluded to; 4. The humbling servility of office, and the habitual servitude of mind, connected with the daily performance of official duties, and the daily submission to superior authority, continued as they were for a series of years, most plainly demonstrate that Sir Philip could not possibly be the

Junius of high mind, and of high spirit, and of high rank, and of elevated station, whom we seek." (p. 118).

"He must be a bold man," adds Mr. Barker, "and possess more boldness than judgment, who ventures to contend—unsupported by strong evidence, against the deliberate, and solemn, and impartial authority of Dr. Parr and Mr. Butler, who are most distinguished writers, and from their scholastic habits and professional pursuits, most admirable judges of literary composition and of legal evidence—that Sir Philip Francis, as a writer, is not inferior to Junius, and that the traces of equality are so visible in Sir Philip, as to justify him in identifying Sir Philip with Junius. Mr. Taylor has delivered such an opinion, before he was acquainted with the sentiments of those illustrious scholars; and it remains to be seen whether he will persevere in it, now that he has become acquainted with them. It is true that the able writer in the article in the *Edinburgh Review* has expressed the same opinion as Mr. Taylor; but the Reviewer had not seen the opposite opinion of Dr. Parr and Mr. Butler, and the question is, whether the Reviewer would now hold and assert the same opinion? for it is evident that he had not closely investigated the comparative merits of Junius and Sir Philip Francis as writers; he contents himself with quoting *four* splendid passages from the writings of Sir Philip, all of which occur in Mr. Taylor's book, and from which he infers the *general* equality of style between the two writers." (p. 113).

A writer in No. lxxv. of the *North American Review*, is also at issue with the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, and urges the following objections against the the claim of Sir Philip Francis:—

“The pretensions of Sir Philip were set forth a few years ago, in a volume entitled ‘Junius Identified,’ with all the strength which ingenuity and skill in reasoning could give them. This book was really an excellent specimen of inductive argument, and to a superficial reader, at first view, the evidence which it presents appears absolutely overwhelming. This is owing to the art of the writer, in spreading a few casual coincidences over a great number of pages; in presenting the same argument in different situations, and under different shapes, so as to give it apparently the force of many distinct proofs: in keeping totally out of view the most important objections against his theory, and in making facts and circumstances bend to suit the strain of his reasoning. The evidence, which at first sight appeared so overpowering, becomes very insignificant on a close scrutinizing examination and comparison. It will give some idea of the manner in which the book is made up, when we say that more than sixty pages are occupied with a comparison between the Letters of Junius and a speech of Lord Chatham, said to have been reported by Sir Philip Francis. It would be entirely superfluous at this time to expose the sophistry and contradictions of this work, but we will mention one instance of misrepresentation as a specimen of the rest. In arguing from the alleged similarity of Sir Philip’s political views with those of Junius, the author quotes from one of Sir Philip’s speeches, a sentiment in regard to the royal prerogative. He says, Sir Philip next observes, ‘The prerogatives of the crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but to ensure the execution of his office; and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to

any set of men to strip the crown of those prerogatives?'—He then goes on to assert, that 'Junius takes the same view of the subject under the following figure:—'The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.' Now it happens, as any one may see on a reference to the context, and as would have appeared evident, if but the two previous sentences had been quoted, that Junius in using this simile, does *not* 'take the same view of the subject' in any sense; that he is not even speaking of the king's prerogative at all, and far less attempting to define its firmness or extent. He is speaking of the royal honour, and the public credit. He says, 'The king's honour is that of the people. Their real honour and interest is the same. I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A clear, unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. Private credit is wealth; public honour is security. The feather that adorns, etc.'

"An argument is drawn from the similarity of Sir Philip's political views to those of Junius. This similarity is proved to exist in one or two instances, but there are also cases of marked disagreement. Sir Philip was an advocate for a more equal representation in the House of Commons. Junius, in a letter to Wilkes, condemns the projects for that purpose. In speaking of the Revolutionary contest, Sir Philip declared in the House of Commons, on the principles and in the language of Lord Chatham, that he rejoiced that America had resisted.

‘If this be a concession, these gentlemen are welcome to it. I do not believe it will avail them. I rejoice that America resisted with success, because it was a triumph of unquestionable right over outrageous wrong; of courage and virtue, over tyranny and force.’

“How do these sentiments agree with the opposition of Junius to Lord Chatham’s language, principles, and conduct, on this very subject, and with his unqualified assertions that the noble Lord, and those who acted with him were encouraging rebellion in the colonies? How do they comport with what Junius says of the ‘Stamp Act?’ ‘The people who were most clamorous against it never understood, or wilfully misrepresented it.’”

“It seems to be quite certain,” observes Mr. Barker, “that Sir Philip Francis had no private pecuniary resources beyond the emolument of his clerkship in the War Office, which Mr. Taylor estimates, and I dare say correctly enough, at 400*l.* a-year. Now, from various passages in the *private* letters of Junius to Woodfall, it is apparent that Junius had good pecuniary resources; for he assures his printer that he shall be indemnified for any expenses which the latter might incur by prosecutions for libel. But had Sir Philip Francis this command of money,—an *inferior clerk* in the War Office? It is impossible to believe it; and if Mr. Taylor expects me to believe it, he is required to produce his authority to substantiate the inference, or his evidence to prove the fact. 2. A very little consideration will satisfy us, that, in order to evince the authorship of Sir Philip, Mr. Taylor has not only to shew that Sir Philip could command any sum necessary for paying the expenses of a public trial, but to demonstrate that he could spare from

his very limited income the cash, which would be wanted to bring out the Letters, in paying for pen, ink, and paper, in collecting political information and private news, in paying postage and carriage and portorage, in remunerating waiters, and in attending taverns, and in a hundred other respects, which would materially abridge an annual income of 400*l*. 3. Mr. Taylor has not undertaken to establish that Sir Philip, if the writer of the Letters, had the pecuniary support of any political party, or that he was identified with any political party in feelings and in designs.

“So much courage, so much talent, so much experience of life, so much knowledge of the world, so perfect an acquaintance with official characters and official business, with public men and private individuals, with the history of the times, the course of passing transactions, the secret motives for ministerial measures, and the secret biography of great statesmen; so much knowledge of city politics and court manœuvres, were required from him, who should undertake the task of writing the Letters of Junius, combined with the necessity of disguising his handwriting, that an inferior clerk in the War Office, habituated to ‘the insolence of office’ by long servitude, would have shrunk with horror at the thought of making even the attempt.” (p. 166).

Mr. Taylor admits that Sir Philip, when a youth, acquired no more than the rudiments of learning in his native country, Ireland, which he quitted altogether when he was only *ten years old*, and therefore the strong presumptive evidence which has been adduced to prove that Junius must have been an Irishman, or, educated at the University of Dublin, will not apply to him,

for he never was at any University; and he quitted Ireland at such a tender age, as to render it morally impossible that he could have previously acquired that extensive, minute, and local knowledge of Irish families, affairs, and traditions, which forms one of the most remarkable characteristics of Junius.

Another difficulty, in which Mr. Taylor places himself, is in respect to Welbore Ellis, Esq., the late Lord Mendip, who was the early patron of Sir Philip Francis, and has received the unmeasured abuse of Junius. After the patronage, which Sir Philip Francis had in early life experienced from Lord Chatham and Lord Mendip, and after the severity, with which they had been treated by Junius, any attempt to identify Sir Philip and Junius, *if successful*, would be only to procure for Sir Philip literary reputation by the total sacrifice of public and private character;—*to proverbialise his name, memorialise his crimes, and eternise his infamy.* (p. 171).

“A cause, however ingeniously pleaded,” says Sir Walter Scott, “is not therefore gained. You may remember the neatly-wrought chain of circumstantial evidence, so artificially brought forward to prove Sir Philip Francis’s title to the Letters of Junius seemed at first irrefragible, yet the influence of the reasoning has passed away, and Junius, in the general opinion, is as much unknown as ever.”—*Introductory Epistle to the “Fortunes of Nigel.”*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

Proud was his tone, but calm; his eye
Had that compelling dignity,
His mien that bearing haught and high
Which common spirits fear.

Sir W. Scott.

MR. FOX used to say, that "although he would not take SINGLE-SPEECH HAMILTON against the field, he would bet him against any single horse."—On the supposition we have just stated, might not the same bet, with a greater chance of success, have been laid upon LORD GEORGE?

Butler's Reminiscences, i. 106.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lord George Sackville suspected of being the Author of the Letters of Junius on their first appearance.—Account of Mr. Coventry's "Critical Enquiry," in support of his Lordship's claim.—Several circumstances stated in favour of his hypothesis.—Sketch of Lord George Sackville's life.—His birth and education shewn to be consistent with certain apparent contradictions concerning Junius.—Enters the Army.—His desire to imitate the heroes of Homer.—The study of Homer shewn to have a tendency to engender a spirit of revenge.—Accompanies his father to Paris.—Is appointed Lieutenant-colonel, and distinguishes himself at the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Culloden.—Is actively employed by the Duke of Cumberland in suppressing the Rebellion of 1745.—The sentiments of Lord George and Junius shewn to correspond respecting the Scots and the Duke of Cumberland.—Attends the Duke of Cumberland in the campaigns of 1747 and 1748.—Enters Parliament as member for Dover.—Accompanies his father when again appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland as *his Chief Secretary*.—Lord Orford's account of their administration.—Marries Miss Sambrook.—Is appointed Major-general.—Anecdote of his Lordship and Whitfield.—Is appointed Lieutenant-general and a Privy-counsellor.—Lord Orford's description of his great abilities and influence.—Attends the Duke of Marlborough in the expedition to St. Malo, and afterwards with the army to Germany.—Becomes Commander of the British forces under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, on the death of the Duke of Marlborough.—Lord Granby second in command.—Peculiar knowledge shewn by Junius of Lord Granby's character.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

“I’ve been so long remember’d, I’m forgot.”

Young.

ON the first appearance of the Letters of Junius, this nobleman was suspected, and, in terms which could not be misunderstood, treated as their author; yet, neither at that time, nor at any subsequent period of his life, was he ever known to deny the imputation.—The pretensions however of other claimants, and the discussions that arose respecting them, for some time diverted the attention of the public to other objects; but the publication of Mr. Woodfall’s Junius disclosed so many incidental circumstances tending to corroborate his Lordship’s claim, that public attention was again awakened to the subject, and several writers have since become his advocates. In 1825, Mr. George Coventry published “*A Critical Enquiry regarding the real Author of the Letters of Junius, proving them to have been written by Lord Viscount Sackville.*”—And in 1828, another work was published, at Boston in America, entitled, “*Junius Unmasked, or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius.*”

We have seen with what confidence Mr. Taylor, supported by the writer in the Edinburgh Review, and also Atticus Secundus, have expressed their opinions that Sir Philip Francis was entitled to the laurels of Junius; but Mr. Coventry, nothing daunted by this formidable

array of authorities, boldly claims for Lord George Sackville the glorious prize. — “I submit,” says he, “my inquiry to the public, with confidence, that this grand literary desideratum is now fully established; the mystery unravelled; and that the veil which has so long obscured the person of this illustrious writer, is removed for ever.” Amid such conflicting opinions it might be deemed presumptuous to pronounce any judgment on the case, especially as that able and cautious investigator, Mr. Charles Butler, seems no better satisfied with Mr. Coventry’s performance than with the labours of Sir Philip Francis’s advocates; for he thus criticises Mr. Coventry’s book :—“In this work, Mr. Coventry has collected, with surprising industry, every particle in the public or private letters of Junius, and every act and word of Lord George Sackville, which can be brought to prove his lordship’s identity with Junius. He successfully shews, that all who appear to have been peculiarly esteemed, loved, despised, or hated by Junius, were particularly esteemed, loved, despised, or hated by Lord George. He mentions several coincidences, and other circumstances favourable to his hypothesis; but all he says, seems to the present writer to fall very short of establishing his hypothesis.”—*Butler’s Reminis.* ii. 123.

Mr. Coventry, however, not only strenuously contends that Lord George was Junius, but that — “his name, which before was buried in comparative obscurity, will, in consequence of his discovery, be handed down to posterity with as much dignity and splendour as other branches of his noble family, who stand pre-eminent in the literary world, for their talents, learning, and sound judgment.” Now, without stopping to inquire whether

the circumstance of identifying his Lordship with Junius would derogate from the dignity, or tarnish the splendour of his illustrious name, we may be permitted to express a doubt whether it would not entitle him to the character given by Lord Clarendon of Hampden:—"What was said of Cinna might well be applied to him: he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief."

In considering the claims of Lord George Sackville, it is to be noticed that, although Junius comments freely on the characters and conduct of most of the eminent political and military characters of his time, yet, in the *genuine edition* of the Letters, edited by the author himself, there is not to be found any mention whatever of Lord George Sackville, or the slightest allusion to his actions or character; and this we cannot but consider a circumstance favourable to the hypothesis of his being the author of the Letters; for, by observing a total silence respecting himself, he avoided all risk of inadvertently betraying his own secret.* But there is not the same paucity of information respecting his Lordship's friends and enemies; on the contrary, it can be satisfactorily shewn, that the enemies and friends of Junius were also those of Lord George. This seems another strong circumstance in his favour. We also find that Sir William Draper at first divided his suspicion between this nobleman and Mr. Burke; and upon the personal and unequivocal denial of the latter, he *transferred them entirely*

* Mr. Washington Irving, in giving an account of his visit to Sir Walter Scott, at Abbotsford, observes, "one proof to me of his being the author of the Waverley Novels, was, that he never adverted to them."

to Lord George. It appears that he was likewise suspected by other persons in the highest *military circles*, where his martial knowledge and great talents were best known and appreciated. Mr. Woodfall, it seems, also suspected him; for upon Mr. Coventry asking his son to inform him candidly whether he believed his father was acquainted with the name of his correspondent, he replied, "that to a *certainly* he was not, although his father at times suspected Lord George Sackville."

In a work called the Royal Register (vol. vi. 181), written by William Combe (better known as the author of the Tour of Dr. Syntax), and published in 1781, is the following passage: "At this period, the remarkable writings of Junius first made their appearance in the public papers; and the conjectures of many curious politicians rested for a long time upon Lord George Sackville as the author of them. The spirit with which these Letters were written, the penetration they discovered, the matter they unfolded, the objects to which their severity was directed, and the powerful language in which the whole was clothed, found a very suspected origin in the extensive abilities of this nobleman."

It has been justly remarked, that this early general suspicion is of much weight, since many reasons for it might then have existed which are now lost, and since contemporaries were the best judges of talents, motives, and all the probabilities of the case.

In addition to all this, there is to be found, in a private letter written by Junius to Woodfall (July 21st, 1769), the following most extraordinary paragraph:—

"That Swinny is a wretched, but a dangerous fool.

He had the impudence to go to Lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius—take care of him.”—*Woodfall's Junius*, i. 174.

“This letter,” observes Dr. Good, “is, in fact, one of the most curious of the whole collection. If written by Lord George Sackville, it settles the point at once; and, if not written by him, presupposes an acquaintance with his Lordship's family, his sentiments, and his connexions, so intimate as to excite no small degree of astonishment. Junius was informed of Swinny's having called upon Lord George Sackville a *few hours after his call*, and he knew that *before this time* he had never spoken to him in his life.” It is therefore certain, that this nobleman, if not Junius himself, must have been in habits of close and intimate friendship with him. It also shews that Junius knew him to be suspected, without denying, as in the case of the author of the “Whig,” etc., that he was suspected wrongfully.

The question has often been asked—“Who was the Swinny mentioned in Junius's letter to Woodfall?” and it is rather remarkable to find, that Mr. Woodfall's editor is totally silent on the subject, though it is evident, from the manner in which Junius expresses himself, that Swinny was well known to Woodfall. Mr. Charles Butler heard that Swinny was *afterwards* a bookseller at Birmingham. But in a letter he wrote to Mr. E. H. Barker, on the 14th June 1828, he says: “A letter from a gentleman, upon whose accuracy I can rely, informs me, that the Mr. Swinny who is mentioned in Junius's Letters, was a clergyman, who had been attached to the Russian embassy, and had afterwards been *attached to an*

English regiment serving in Germany; and that upon his return to England, he was frequently at the Treasury and its environs; and that he was a carrier of new intelligence to and from different persons."

"The particular individual alluded to by Junius," observes Mr. Barker (p. 280), "I suspect to have been the author mentioned in Dr. Watts's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—'Swinny Sidney, D.D. F.R. and A.S.S. *The Battle of Minden*, a poem, in three books. London, 4to. 10s.—A Sermon. London, 1767, 4to. 1s.' At any rate, the author of a poem on the *Battle of Minden* has more apparent connexion with Lord George Sackville than a bookseller; there must have been to an author a greater facility of access than to a bookseller."

We shall now submit to the reader a sketch of Lord George Sackville's life, pointing out, as we proceed, such facts and circumstances as tend to prove his identity with the author of Junius.

Lord George Sackville was the youngest son of Lionel, first Duke of Dorset, by Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant-colonel Colyear, and was born on the 26th June 1716, in the Haymarket, where his father at that time resided. He received his name from George the First, who was his godfather, and condescended to honour with his presence the ceremony of the favoured infant's baptism. His early years were passed at Westminster School, where he distinguished himself, with other young noblemen and gentlemen, by reciting verses, both in Latin and English, on the coronation of George the Second and his Queen, on the 18th February 1728, at which period he was little more than eleven years old. His inquisitive mind, we are told, soon became

stored with useful information; and he was thoroughly grounded in the classics. Naturally endowed with a strong memory, he rarely forgot circumstances or events that attracted his attention. English history was his delight; and he passed all his examinations with credit to himself and his instructors. On entering his fourteenth year, he left the School to accompany his father, the Duke of Dorset, who went to Ireland as Lord-lieutenant in 1730; and in order to ingratiate himself with the Hibernians, the Duke sent his son, Lord George, to finish his education at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was placed under the tuition of Dr. Whitcombe and Mr. Molloy,—the one a senior, and the other a junior fellow of that university. Here our young student soon made a rapid proficiency in literature; and he quitted the university with great reputation.

The first remark we have to offer as connecting Lord George with Junius, is, that we here find the birth and education of his lordship to be *perfectly consistent* both with the reiterated assertion of Junius that he was an Englishman, and *the apparently contradictory conclusion* drawn by the critics from the phraseology, and other internal evidence afforded by the Letters, that their author must have been an Irishman, or educated at the university of Dublin, and not at either of the English universities. *This is more than can be affirmed of any other claimant, and is altogether a very curious and remarkable coincidence.*

It is said that Lord George's classical studies, and his partiality for the Iliad, inspired his ardent mind with a desire of performing achievements similar to those of the heroes of old, and determined him to devote himself to a

military life; and he accordingly obtained a commission in the army on the 11th July 1737.

As the most striking characteristic of the Letters of Junius is universally admitted to be *the malignant spirit of revenge and hatred* which they exhibit, it may not be unimportant to present the reader with the sentiments of a competent authority as to the impression likely to be made on a young and ardent mind by the study of the Homeric poems.

“In Homer,” says Mr. Foster, “the student will find the mightiest strain of poetry employed to represent ferocious courage as the greatest of virtues, and those who do not possess it, as worthy of their fate, to be trodden in the dust. He will be taught, at least it will not be the fault of the poet if he is not taught, to forgive a heroic spirit for finding the sweetest luxury in insulting dying pangs, and imagining the tears and despair of distant parents or wives. He will be incessantly called upon *to worship revenge, the real divinity of the Iliad*—in comparison of which the Thunderer of Olympus is but a despicable pretender to power.”—*Essays*, ii. 137.

In 1738, Lord George accompanied his father to Paris, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of the French language; which is another of Junius’s qualifications, as appears from the manner in which he criticised Lord Rochford’s French style in one of his letters.

“Dr. Parr, who detected ‘Gallicisms’ in Junius, expressly declares that ‘Francis uniformly writes English,’ and this is the very highest authority,” says Mr. Barker, “to which I can appeal on the subject, because I have had abundant opportunities of observing, and possess many proofs of the facts, that Dr. Parr looked at com-

positions with the accuracy of a grammarian, the knowledge of a philologist, and the judgment of a critic.”—*Barker’s Letters*, p. 123.

In a letter dated 23d April 1768, Junius remarks, “I remember *seeing* Bassambaum, Saurez, Molina, and a score of other Jesuitical books, burnt at Paris, for their *sound casuistry*, by the hands of the common hangman.”

An “old correspondent,” in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for October 1827, says he had discovered that the Jesuitical books, twenty-four in number, were burnt by the common hangman in Paris, on August 7th, 1761. “The question,” says Mr. Coventry, “is, whether this conflagration is the one alluded to by Junius, or whether it was one of *an earlier date*? That it cannot be the one alluded to by Junius, is, I think, evident from the circumstance, that we were at open hostility with France at the era in question; so that it would have been next to an impossibility that Junius should have been in Paris at the said conflagration, unless he were a prisoner of war: even then, it is not likely that his quarters would have been in the capital,—on reference to *La Vie de Bassambaum*, I find there have been several conflagrations of *his works*: one Sept. 9th, 1757, another on March 10th, 1758; and probably several other times at an earlier period. Lord George Sackville might, therefore, have seen the Jesuitical books mentioned by Junius burnt at Paris during this, or at some subsequent, visit to France.”—*Preface to Barker’s Letters*, p. 22.

In 1740, Lord George was appointed a lieutenant-colonel of the 28th regiment of foot; and, in 1742, he accompanied George the Second to Hanover, and distinguished himself at the battle of Dettingen. There

were also present at this battle, Lord Townsend and Lord Granby, which accounts for the intimate knowledge shewn by Junius of the characters of these two noblemen; for we find him, in his letter of 25th August 1767, when speaking of Lord Townsend, and his brother Mr. Charles Townsend, making use of this remarkable language: "I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. *I have served under the one*, and have been forty times promised *to be served by the other*;"—if this be not pure fiction, it proves not only that Junius was a military man, but also a person of rank and consequence, by Mr. Charles Townsend having promised to serve (under) him.

Shortly after this battle, Lord George was appointed one of his Majesty's aids-de-camp, served in the campaign of 1744, and was present at the battle of Fontenoy, where he was wounded in the breast by a musket-ball, and thrown upon a wagon with many others. He ever afterwards preserved the uniform which he wore on that day, bearing on it the mark of the ball, and other bullet holes in the skirt of the coat. On the breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, Lord George accompanied the Duke of Cumberland, on his proceeding to the North to take the command of the army against the rebels; and on the 10th February 1746, they arrived in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, of which they soon gained possession. Leaving a sufficient garrison in that city, the royal army pushed on to Stirling Castle, Falkirk, and Inverness, and after encountering great fatigue and harassing marches, they came up with the Pretender at Culloden, where the fate of that unfortunate prince was decided. Here Lord George greatly distinguished him-

self; and as a testimony of the Duke's approbation of his conduct, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the 20th regiment. He was then sent to Perth, and during the absence of Major-general Skelton, held the responsible situation of Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces. The extreme rigour exercised by the Duke of Cumberland towards the adherents of the house of Stuart, and the severe measures he adopted to crush the rebellion, acquired for him the appellation of the Butcher; and we may learn the methods he employed to effect his purpose from a letter written by an officer of his army, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1746, in which the writer says: "Great numbers, especially the Camerons, Macdonalds, Grants, and Frazers, were *perfidious*, often promised to surrender, appointing their own time, and as often broke their words; which has obliged his Royal Highness *to lay the rod more heavy upon them, by carrying fire and sword through their country*, and drawing off their cattle, which we bring to our camp in great quantities, sometimes 2000 in a drove. In short, we have detachments at present in all parts of the Highlands; and *the people are deservedly in a most deplorable way, and must perish either by sword or famine. A just reward for traitors.*"

From this statement, written by an eye-witness of the scenes he describes, it appears that Smollett was little indebted to poetical embellishment for the incidents detailed in his beautiful and pathetic lament,—“The Tears of Scotland.”

Mourn, hapless Caledonia! mourn
Thy banished peace thy laurels torn;

Thy sons, for valour long renown'd,
Lie slaughtered on their native ground;
Thy hospitable roofs no more
Invite the stranger to the door;
In smoky ruins sunk they lie,
The monuments of cruelty.

We now call the reader's attention to the way in which Junius speaks of Lord George Sackville's old commander the Duke of Cumberland, in his zealous defence of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who, we shall shew, was also the intimate friend of Lord George. In a letter written by Junius under the signature of Valerius, 23d August 1768, the following passage occurs:—

“As a part of this system, and in order to give it a due roundness and relief, it was thought proper not only to affront living merit, but to insult and trample upon the sacred ashes of the dead. It was not forgot under whose patronage Sir Jeffrey Amherst first appeared in the world. It was not forgot that he was one of the many public benefits derived to this country *from that great school of military knowledge and loyal sentiments, the family of the late Duke of Cumberland*. Here was a glorious opportunity of cherishing a true friend to despotism, Lord Boutetort, and at the same time of insulting the memory of him who had been the *heavy scourge*, and (it was once hoped) *the final destroyer of that cause*.”

The virulence displayed by Junius against the Scotch is notorious; and that Lord George also thoroughly detested that people and their country, is evident from one of his letters, written on the 6th October 1746, from Perth, to his friend Major Younge, in which he says:—“All I pray for is, that I may never have

occasion any more to visit those northern hills, for I think nothing but another rebellion can ever call me there again."

On a debate in the House of Commons many years afterwards, respecting a bill for limiting the time for soldiers to serve in the army, Lord George took occasion, totally unconnected with the subject, to introduce his opinion of the *treachery of the Scotch*; and the following passage must forcibly remind the reader of Junius's abuse of that nation in his celebrated Letter to the King.

"I will go further, sir: I will say, that if you should shorten the time, it might endanger the present establishment. We know, and I am sorry to say, that we have many great families disaffected to our present happy establishment, especially in the North, and among the highlands of Scotland. They have a commanding influence over all those of their clan, and all the farms within their estates; they would prevail with, or rather command, every young fellow, whose father had any dependence upon them, to enlist and serve his time in the army; and by this means, they might provide themselves with a great number of disciplined soldiers, to be employed for overturning our present establishment, as soon as an opportunity offered. It is well known that the disaffected chiefs in the highlands of Scotland made use of the independent companies kept up in that country for this very purpose; and since the breaking of those companies, they have made use of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service for the same purpose.

"It was this that made the late Rebellion so formidable, and at first so successful. That army of rebels was not made up of shepherds, or fellows just taken from the

plough, as it was represented through ignorance or design, by the friends to the government here; it was chiefly composed of disciplined soldiers, and commanded by noblemen and gentlemen of rank and courage, though I believe, of no great fortune; and if this bill should pass into a law, we may soon expect to hear of such another army appearing in favour of the Pretender."

On the termination of the campaign in Scotland, Lord George proceeded with his regiment to Dover Castle, where he staid to recruit during the Christmas holidays. In the two ensuing campaigns of 1747 and 1748, he again accompanied his old commander the Duke of Cumberland to the Continent, who sent him on a mission to Marshal Saxe, to conclude a general armistice between the armies; which mission his Lordship performed to the entire satisfaction of the Duke. Upon his return home he took his seat in parliament as member for Dover, although the family were in possession of boroughs of their own. It can scarcely be necessary to remind the reader, that Junius in his private correspondence with Wilkes, and on several other occasions, expresses the greatest abhorrence at the idea of extirpating rotten boroughs, and on all occasions displays the sentiments of a thoroughbred boroughmonger. According to Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, his Lordship made his first speech in parliament during the year 1750, on a clause in the Mutiny Bill, which evinces great talent, and a thorough knowledge of all the points he spoke to. On the 1st of November 1749, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the 12th regiment of Dragoons, and in January 1750, was made Colonel of the king's regiment of Horse Carabineers in Ireland. In the following year, 1751, he

went over to Ireland in the capacity of secretary to his father the Duke of Dorset, who was again appointed Lord-lieutenant; but a quarrel having ensued between their administration and the Irish parliament, the family became disgusted, returned to England, and never went over afterwards.

Lord Orford in "The Memoirs of the last Ten Years of George the Second," gives the following account of the administration of the Duke of Dorset, and his son, in Ireland:—"Lord Harrington was succeeded in the Lord-lieutenancy by Lionel Duke of Dorset, who was a man of caution, dignity, and plausibility, and who had formerly ruled Ireland to their universal satisfaction. But he then acted for himself; he was now in the hands of two men most unlike himself, his youngest son, Lord George Sackville, and Dr. George Stone, the Primate of Ireland. *The former a man of very sound parts, of distinguished bravery, and of as honourable eloquence; but hot, haughty, ambitious, and obstinate.*"

It was in allusion to this era, that the writer of a political article, dated 22d October 1767 (erroneously attributed to Junius), and published by Woodfall among the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius (No. 7), says, "I believe the best thing I can do will be to consult with my Lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland, as much as it is here; and I know he loves to be stationed in the *rear* as well as myself."

This is the only instance in which Lord George Sackville is either mentioned, or alluded to, in the whole of the Letters, public or private, attributed to the author of Junius (except the extraordinary letter

relating to Swinny), and the disparaging allusion in this letter has been brought forward as a strong argument against Lord George's claim; but both Mr. Butler and Mr. Coventry doubt the authenticity of this paper, which is in the form of a dialogue, and entitled, "Grand Council upon the Affairs of Ireland, after eleven adjournments;" and if it could be proved to be genuine, we conceive so slight an allusion to his disgrace might have been written by Lord George, for the express purpose of more effectually misleading the suspicions of the public; and if so, it has, in a surprising degree, answered its intended purpose.

In 1754, Lord George married Miss Diana Sambrooke, who was second daughter and co-heiress of John Sambrooke, Esq., of Hertfordshire; by whom he had two sons, Charles, the present Duke of Dorset, and George, and three daughters, Diana, Elizabeth, and Caroline.

In the year 1755, his Lordship was promoted to the rank of Major-general; in the spring of 1757 we find him commanding the detachment of troops stationed at Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire; and in the autumn of the same year he commanded the camp near Chatham, at which period, Captain Smith, father of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, was his aid-de-camp. During this encampment, Mr. Whitfield came to Chatham to offer his spiritual services to the soldiers, and Captain Smith brought the following message to his Lordship: "My Lord, Mr. Whitfield is come hither; and sends his respects by me to your Lordship, and requests that he may have your permission to preach in the camp." His Lordship replied: "Make my compliments to Mr. Whitfield, and tell him from me, that he may preach anything to my soldiers, that is not contrary to the articles of war."

On the 26th January 1758, Lord George was nominated Lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces, Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance, and sworn a Member of the Privy Council; and Lord Orford thus notices him in his Memoirs:—

“1758. Lord George Sackville was now rising to a principal figure. His abilities in the House of Commons, and his interest with Pitt, gave him great weight in government, and everything seemed to promise him the first rank in the army, where, since the depression of Conway, he stood without a rival. Marshal Ligonier was very old, and was governed by him; and by his seat in the Ordnance and his own address, he began to balance Fox in the direction of the Duke of Marlborough. But his impetuous temper was not to be restrained.”

From Lord Orford's Memoirs, we learn, that Lord George possessed, at this time, great influence in arranging different administrations; and Lord Orford enters minutely into the cabinet differences between Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Chatham; by which it appears, that Lord George was the most prominent character of the day, without whose advice or knowledge, it seemed impossible for the ministry to act on any important occasion; so that we cease to wonder at the intelligence Junius evinces on all affairs connected with the Court, when we become acquainted with the high political station in which Lord George once moved. Neither can we be surprised at his acrimony and invective against those very men who once looked up to him for advice, when they afterwards so ungenerously united in aiding his downfall.

In 1759, a strong fleet was equipped, which carried

an army of 14,000 landmen and 6000 marines. The Duke of Marlborough, on whom Lord George Sackville could not avoid attending, was appointed General; and the transports, which for some days were kept back by contrary winds, anchored on the 5th in Cancale Bay, near St. Malo, where the troops landed without opposition; but the commanders discovered that the town was so strongly situated, and approachable only by a narrow causeway, that after burning a parcel of small vessels, they returned to their ships; and the French learned that they were not to be conquered by every Duke of Marlborough. It is certain that both the Duke and Lord George were so sick of naval expeditions, that after parading before Granville and Cherburg, they returned with the fleet to St. Helen's, and soon afterwards they both set out for the army in Germany, where the Duke took the command of the English forces. Pitt had offered Lord George the command of the expedition to St. Cas, but his Lordship replied, "*he was tired of buccaneering.*" To avoid this service, he insisted on going to Germany; but Pitt did not forget Lord George's sarcasm on his expeditions. While our army in Germany lay on the defensive, the fatal distempers incident to a camp carried off the Duke of Marlborough. The command of the English consequently devolved on Lord George Sackville, between whom and Prince Ferdinand, the commander-in-chief, there was by no means any cordiality. "Both," observes Lord Orford, "liked to govern,—neither was disposed to be governed. Prince Ferdinand had gained an ascendancy over the Duke of Marlborough; and Lord Granby, the next in rank to Lord George, was an honest, open-hearted young man,

of undaunted courage, and no capacity; and if he wanted any other recommendation to Prince Ferdinand, besides these ductile qualities, *he drank as profusely as a German. Lord George's haughtiness lost this young man*, as he had the Duke of Marlborough. Prince Ferdinand knew better how to bend to domineer."

It is evident that Junius was well acquainted with the unfortunate propensity of Lord Granby, alluded to by Lord Orford, for when Sir William Draper in one of his letters says:—"Lord Granby is next attacked for not performing his promises and engagements. Where are Junius's proofs? Although I could give some instances where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open unsuspected moments of convivial mirth into sly insidious applications for preferment or party systems, and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises;" Junius immediately retorts:—"It is you, Sir William, who have taken pains to represent your friend in the character of a *drunken landlord*, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober,—none but *an intimate friend*, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy, disgraceful moments, could have described him so well." The concluding remark will probably be thought as much applicable to Junius as to Sir William Draper.

THE BATTLE OF MINDEN,
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES TO
LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

Charge, Chester, charge! on Stanley on!
Were the last words of Marmion.

Sir Walter Scott.

By heaven! it is a splendid sight to see
(For one who hath no friend, no brother there)
Their rival scarfs of mix'd embroidery;
Their various arms that glitter in the air!
What gallant war-hounds rouse them from their lair
And gnash their fangs, loud yelling for the prey.
All join the chase, but few the triumph share;
The grave shall bear the chiefest prize away.

Byron.

He fell perforce, he seem'd *decreed* to fall.

Crabbe.

And fired with all the pride of birth,
He wept a soldier's injured name.

Sir Walter Scott.

Farewell the neighing steed, and the shrill trump;
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,
The royal banner, and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.

Shakspeare.

CHAPTER IX.

Retrospective view of Lord George's life.—Remarks on the nature and tendency of the present Inquiry.—Lord Orford's account of Lord George's conduct at the battle of Minden.—Lord George arrives in England, and demands a court-martial.—His letter to Lord Barrington, secretary-at-war.—Mr. E. H. Barker's observations on Junius's attack upon Lord Barrington.—The sentiments of Junius and Lord George shewn to coincide respecting the character of Lord Chatham.—Numerous pamphlets published relative to Lord George's conduct.—Is tried by a court-martial.—Lord Orford's description of the way in which he conducted his defence.—Is found guilty of disobedience of orders, and dismissed the army.—The King confirms the sentence, and strikes Lord George's name out of the Council-book.—Proofs that Lord George had cause of complaint against George the Third and the Princess Dowager.—Popular prejudice against him.—Is defended by Smollett and Almon.—Is dismissed from all his places, which are bestowed on the persons against whom Junius exhibits the greatest virulence.—Lord George frequently taunted in after-life with the sentence of the court-martial.—Is forbidden to appear at Court.—His duel with Governor Johnstone.—Extraordinary attempts to prevent his entering the House of Peers upon being created VISCOUNT SACKVILLE in 1782.—Remarks upon the opposite advice given to his Lordship on that occasion, by Lord Amherst and Mr. Cumberland.—Mr. Coventry's account of his interview with the Duke of Dorset upon applying for leave to inspect his father's letters.

THE BATTLE OF MINDEN,
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES TO
LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

— Is the laurel to the soldier due,
Who cautious comes not into danger's view?

Crabbe.

THE battle of Minden being the great epoch in the life of Lord George Sackville, and followed by consequences that embittered the remainder of his existence, we will here pause, and take a retrospective view of his life, before entering the gloomy vista which lies before us.

Hitherto we have beheld a man descended from noble and illustrious ancestors,—having a sovereign for his sponsor. Endued by nature with splendid talents, which had been carefully cultivated and developed by education,—possessing high reputation for skill and valour as a soldier, acquired in many a well-fought field; and a character for eloquence little inferior to the greatest orators of his age,—when suddenly, while pursuing his career of prosperity and glory, we see this man, *by a single ambiguous action*, hurled from his high estate—expelled from his places—ignominiously stripped of his honours, and driven amidst the execrations of a nation into solitude, to exclaim with Wolsey:

“Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness.”

It is true, that by coinciding in sentiment with George

the Third and his ministers, on the subject of the disastrous war with America, Lord George was afterwards for a time restored to place and court favour; yet his character was never re-established in the estimation of the public, and he remained a marked and unpopular character to the end of his life. History affords numerous examples of such vicissitudes of fortune, and therefore, this alone would not have distinguished Lord George's case from many others of a similar nature; but we conceive, that if the Letters of Junius can be traced to his pen, a moral phenomenon will be exhibited, which is not to be paralleled in the annals of mankind, when we consider the persevering and artful scheme thereby carried into execution, for the purpose of inflicting vengeance on the authors of his disgrace.

If this inquiry should tend to exhibit an important phase of human action, not before observed, we think no considerations of false delicacy ought to deter us from discussing the conduct of a man, whose station in life rendered his character public property, and whose actions have now become materials for history, with the same freedom as we canvass the actions and characters of Cæsar and Cromwell, or any of the numerous individuals who have risen up in all countries and ages, to disturb, by their feuds and ambition, the repose of the world.

The battle of Minden, which was attended with the most brilliant success on the part of the Allies, and consequences equally disastrous to the French and Lord George Sackville, was fought on the 1st of August 1759, when the French attacked the Allied army near the town of Minden in great force. The action soon became very hot towards the right, where six regiments of English

infantry and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, with some artillery, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carabineers and gendarmeries, but absolutely broke every body of horse and foot that advanced to attack them. The French were ultimately repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and at length, giving way, were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden.

The leading events of the battle are related, and the characters of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and Lord George Sackville are ably delineated in a clever work, entitled "*Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea*," which was published shortly after the event happened. This work shews the popular opinion of the time, respecting the motives which were supposed to have influenced Lord George's conduct on that memorable day. But we prefer giving Lord Orford's account of the transaction:—"During the battle," says Lord Orford, "the Prince sent Ligonier, one of his aids-de-camp, to Lord George, with orders to bring up the cavalry; Fitzroy immediately after, for Lord George to march with only the British cavalry, and to the left. Lord George (as Fitzroy, who arrived suddenly after Ligonier, said) received the order with some confusion, and replied, 'This cannot be so; would he have me break the line?' Fitzroy, young, brave, and impetuous, urged the command. Lord George desired he would not be in a hurry. 'I am out of breath with galloping,' said Fitzroy, 'which makes me speak quick, but my orders are positive: the French are in disorder; here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves.' Lord George still hesitated, saying, 'it was impossible the Prince could

mean to break the line.' Fitzroy stuck to the Prince's order. Lord George asked, 'which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide?' 'I,' said Fitzroy, bravely. Lord George pretending the different orders puzzled him, desired to be conducted to the Prince for explanation: in the mean time, despatched Smith, his favourite, with orders to lead on the British cavalry, from whence he pleaded no delay could happen. Smith whispered Lord George, to convince him of the necessity of obeying. Lord George persisted on being carried to the Prince, who, at Fitzroy's report, was much astonished. Even, when Lord George did march, he twice sent orders to Lord Granby to halt, who was posting on with less attention to the rules of a march, but with more ardour for engaging. Before they arrived, the battle was gained. Lord George defended himself on the seeming contradiction of orders; on the short space of time that was lost, at most, eight minutes; on obstructions from a wood on his march; and on his own alertness, he having been one of the first on horseback on hearing the French 'cannonade. That the whole affair turned on a very few minutes is certain. Whether, if employed, they would have been of great consequence, cannot now be determined. Enough was evident to prove that Lord George, at best, was too critically and minutely cool in such a moment of importance. Indeed, more was proved. Previous to the arrival of Ligonier, he had lost time in affecting not to understand a message delivered to him by a German aid-de-camp. Colonel Sloper, too (who had been obliged to him), remarking his confusion, said to Ligonier, 'For God's sake, repeat your orders to that man, that he may not pretend not to

understand them—but you see the condition he is in! Had Lord George's courage been less problematic, one might suspect that his hatred to Prince Ferdinand had made him willing, by an affected delay, to balk the Prince of his glory; but some late occasions had already discovered that he was no hero. The late Duke of Marlborough had remarked it on their joint expedition to the coast of France; and the little spirit he had shewn in Ireland, under the most grievous abuse, was now recollected. His real constitution, I believe, was this: he had a high and bold spirit, till danger came extraordinarily near. Then his judgment was fascinated; yet, even then, he seems not to have lost a certain presence of mind. His quickness in distinguishing a trifling contradiction in a message delivered by two boys, in not precisely the same terms, shewed that all his senses were not lost; but if that dexterity served his fears, it cut up his fortune by the roots, annihilated his character, and gratified the utmost spleen and vengeance of his enemy."

Of the dissensions among the commanders of the Allied army previous to the battle, Lord Orford gives the following account:—"Lord George Sackville, by his weight with Mr. Pitt, and in parliament, had insisted on going to Germany, and had gone without the King's approbation, and even without waiting on his Majesty. Lord Granby was next to Lord George, in command, and so popular, that when he set out for the army, fifty-two young officers had solicited to be his aids-de-camp. Between these two lords, a coolness soon ensued, and divided the army, if it can be called division, where almost every heart sided with Lord Granby. He was open, honest, affable, and of such unbounded good-

nature and generosity, that it was impossible to say which principle actuated him in the distribution of the prodigious sums that he spent and flung away. Lord George Sackville was haughty, and reserved except to a few, and those chiefly Scotch; and with no pre-eminence over his rival, but what his rank in command gave him, and his *great talents*, in which there could not be the smallest competition; and yet with those superior talents, Lord George never had the art of conciliating affection; he had thwarted Prince Ferdinand, and disgusted him in the previous campaign; and was now in the army against the Prince's inclination. The latter, with equal haughtiness, but with far more art and address, could not fail of fomenting a breach that tended so much to mortify Lord George, and to promote his own views. Lord Granby was tractable, unsuspecting, and not likely to pry into, or control, the amazing impositions of the German agents, which Lord George had too honestly, too indiscreetly, or too insultingly, let Prince Ferdinand see had not escaped his observations, instead of remonstrating or withstanding such dissipation, as he should have done at home. This was the state of things before the battle of Minden; but being a little or not at all known in England, it was with equal surprise and indignation that the people heard Lord Sackville, who had always stood in high estimation for courage, more covertly at first, now openly accused of cowardice, and of having thrown away the moment for completing the total destruction of the French army. Prince Ferdinand had passed this reproach on him, indirectly and artfully indeed, but when combined with the circumstances of the battle, not to be misunderstood. In the orders which

he gave out the next day, he expressed concern that Lord Granby had not had the command of the cavalry on the right wing, which, if led by him, his Highness did not doubt would have given a more decisive lustre to the day,—more mysterious, yet still more pointed, was a paragraph in the same orders, requiring that for the future, his commands delivered by his aids-de-camp should be more exactly obeyed.”—*Lord Orford's Memoirs of the last Ten Years of George the Second*, vol. ii. 361.

Upon Lord Sackville's arrival in England he immediately wrote to Lord Holderness, the secretary of state, demanding a court-martial, and was told that the officers who would be necessary witnesses on the trial were employed abroad. Lord Ligonier, the commander-in-chief, and Lord Barrington, secretary-at-war, were more explicit, and informed him, that if he desired a court-martial he must seek it in Germany. This was followed by a message delivered by Lord Barrington, acquainting Lord George, that not only the command of his regiment would be taken from him, but that he would be dismissed from his rank of General, and from his post of Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance; and Lord Barrington asked civilly, if his Lordship chose to receive that notification from his mouth, or in writing. Lord George preferred the latter; then, replied Lord Barrington, “I know but one precedent, that of the late Lord Cobham. I will send your Lordship a similar letter.” Lord Barrington accordingly wrote to Lord George, signifying that his Majesty had no further occasion for his services as Lieutenant-general and Colonel of Dragoon Guards; which communication Lord George acknowledged by the following letter:—

Pall Mall, September 11th, 1759.

MY LORD,

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, signifying to me his Majesty has no further occasion for my service, as Lieutenant-general and Colonel of Dragoon Guards. If I were conscious of having deserved this mark of his Majesty's displeasure, I should be most unhappy; as it is, I only regret that I shall have no further opportunity of exerting my zeal in the service of my king and country.

I am,

My Lord, etc. etc.

To Lord Barrington.

GEORGE SACKVILLE.

This letter is deposited in the War Office, and Mr. Coventry obtained a copy through the politeness of Lord Palmerston.

On the 28th of February 1760, Lord Barrington acquainted the House of Commons, that Lord George Sackville had been put under arrest for *disobedience of orders*.

We here take leave to direct the reader's attention to the following observations of Mr. E. H. Barker (p. 174). "Junius had ceased writing under that signature, when the name of Sir Philip Francis was mentioned by him. January 25th, 1772, Junius informs Mr. Woodfall,— 'Having nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public with torturing that * * * * Barrington.' Three days afterwards, a severe invective against that nobleman followed, which was two months before the public were apprised of the dismissal of Sir Philip Francis; and after this dismissal, we have a long account of Lord Barrington's life; an attentive perusal of which must convince every reader, that such a narrative proceeded from a very different quarter than from

the pen of Sir Philip Francis. Events are referred to, which happened before Sir Philip Francis was born, but of which Junius had a thorough knowledge; he confesses "Lord Barrington and he were 'old acquaintance;'" and in taking 'a short review of him from his political birth,' comments on many subjects, which could only have been known to one, who *moved in a very different circle* to Sir Philip Francis."

At this time Mr. Pitt was prime minister, and had attained the zenith of his power. From the first moment of Lord George's disgrace, Mr. Pitt warmly adopted the sentiments of Prince Ferdinand, whom he was determined heartily to support, and though he went to visit Lord George in form, he by no means intended to support him. "He would not," he said, "condemn any man unheard, but he was sworn to the German cause, and to the heroes whose success reflected such lustre on his own administration." When Colonel Fitzroy returned to the army, Mr. Pitt charged him with the strongest assurances to Prince Ferdinand; "tell him," says Mr. Pitt, "he shall have what reinforcements, what ammunition, he pleases,—tell him I will stand or fall with him." From this statement, it plainly appears that the Earl of Chatham by his conduct gave sufficient cause for Lord George's resentment.

Mr. Butler observes that Junius expresses himself differently at different times of Lord Chatham; and that to one of Mr. Butler's friends Lord George observed, that "the unpleasant part of his own life was mixed up with the most glorious part of Lord Chatham's, but this did not prevent him from doing justice to the services which that great man had done his country."

Dr. Good, in a note on the first of the miscellaneous letters written by Junius under the signature of Poplicola, dated 28th April 1767, (ii. 453), observes:—"This severe invective is aimed against the late Lord Chatham, formerly the Right Honourable William Pitt. The reader, by a perusal of the preceding letters, is already acquainted with the utter aversion which Junius at first felt for this nobleman, on various political accounts, and especially on the subject of the American dispute. His aversion, however, softened as their political views approximated, and was at length converted into approbation and eulogy." And in another note, (iii. 4), he says:—"In reality it was not till about the date of Letter fifty-four, under his favourite signature of *Junius*, that he began to think commendably of this nobleman. 'I am called upon,' says he, in that letter, 'to deliver my opinion, and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Herne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, *who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem.*'"

The views of Dr. Good, respecting the conduct of Junius towards Lord Chatham, will be found to correspond exactly with Lord George's sentiments with regard to that nobleman, as expressed to Mr. Butler's friend.

Previously to the trial taking place, the nation was in a state of the greatest ferment on the subject, and numerous pamphlets were written on both sides of the question. His Lordship published a short address, requesting the public to suspend its judgment, until he had an opportunity of defending himself. He also addressed a letter to Colonel Fitzroy, which the colonel answered.

On this occasion the Scotch did not forget the *benefits* conferred on them in 1745, by the Lieutenant of the Duke

of Cumberland, for there was printed in 1759, for Sands and Co., at Edinburgh, "*A Letter to a late Noble Commander of the British Forces in Germany*,"* which was circulated anonymously, and in it his Lordship was treated with considerable severity. Lord George threatened the printers with a prosecution, which he afterwards abandoned. He, however, wrote a pamphlet in answer to the insinuations thrown out against his character in the letter, and employed Mr. Woodfall to print it.

The case against Lord George is stated with equal force and moderation in another pamphlet, entitled "*A Second Letter to a late Noble Commander of the British Forces in Germany; in which the Noble Commander's Address to the Public, his Letter to Colonel Fitzroy, together with the Colonel's Answer, and Captain Smith's Declaration, are candidly and impartially considered. By the Author of the First Letter.*" This pamphlet was published in London, by R. Griffiths,—and we shall present the reader with some interesting passages from the work:—

"With respect to the matter of your address," says the writer, "it does no more than inform us, what we have long since heard, that you have applied by your letter to the Secretary of State, and are still eager, to obtain a court-martial, 'that you may have a public opportunity given you of *attempting* to justify yourself to his Majesty, and to your country.' Give me leave to observe of the contents of this letter, that, as to the consciousness you express of having done your duty to the utmost of your abilities, no man but yourself can judge of it. Human tribunals cannot pry into the motives of

* This letter is published at length in Mr. Coventry's "*Critical Enquiry*," page 109.

men's conduct. They cannot always decide whether delinquents offend ignorantly or wilfully. In many cases, they can only determine whether the offence has been committed or not, and they must leave it to heaven to trace the source of the crime. You must be sensible, my Lord, that no man could express a stronger conviction of his own innocence, or greater consciousness of having done his duty to the utmost of his abilities, than a late unhappy admiral (Byng).

“His manly deportment at his trial; the fortitude with which he received an *unexpected* sentence; the resignation with which he met an untimely fate,—all afforded the strongest proofs of his inward conviction, with respect to the rectitude of his own conduct. But although to all appearance he acquitted himself in his own conscience, his judges nevertheless condemned him. Bound by the laws of their country, they could not determine otherwise.

“With respect to the conclusion of your letter, it is really astonishing to find you affect to be ignorant of your crime, and of your accusers. Is not the Prince, the commander-in-chief, your accuser? Is not your crime declared to be disobedience to orders? Have not you yourself confessed by your address, that you were acquainted with the nature of your crime? You say, however, that the censure passed upon you by his Highness is only *implied*;—true my Lord; but it is *such* an implication, as arraigns your conduct in the clearest and strongest terms, though it may not amount to a *legal* impeachment.

“When you complain of the severity with which you think you have been treated, you rather judge from your own partial feelings than from the true circumstances of

the case. It may be natural for a man of high birth, accustomed to pre-eminence, and used to the smiles of fortune, to be mortified even by the slightest instance of disrespect; no wonder, therefore, that you are affected by such public circumstances of humiliation.

“That some indecent liberties have been taken with your character, cannot be denied. But remember, my Lord, though publicly accused of disobedience, you were not brought home a prisoner. You were not carried from town to town like a felon. You were not vilified and insulted by a mob—I had almost said, a hired mob. You travelled in a manner suitable to your fashion, and was suffered to pass unmolested. You still enjoy your liberty, and are permitted to recriminate upon your accuser. Every newspaper has been your advocate, and shoals of pamphlets have pleaded your apology. You complain, however, that you have been censured unheard, condemned before you were tried, and dismissed from all your military employments. You think it hard. You forget, my Lord, that it is an unavoidable imperfection in government, that persons accused, or even suspected of delinquency, must, till they have an opportunity of manifesting their innocence, undergo many of the inconveniences of guilt.

“Divest yourself, for a moment, of your rank and title, and consider yourself only as a subject of *Great Britain*; then reflect on the number of your fellow-citizens who are at this time confined in loathsome prisons, and laden with heavy irons, on suspicion of crimes of which several of them will probably appear innocent at their trials.

“A commander ordered to advance, should always have that saying of Pompey’s in remembrance—‘*It is necessary that I should go, but not necessary that I should live.*’”

This important trial, on which the attention of the whole kingdom was fixed, was held at the Horse-Guards, and commenced on Friday the 7th March 1760, on the return of the troops from Germany. The Court consisted of sixteen officers and the Deputy-advocate-general. Ten out of this number were Scotsmen, as well as several of the officers who gave their evidence against him.

The principal witnesses on the trial were the Marquis of Granby, Lieutenant-colonel Fitzroy, brother to the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Sloper, and Lieutenant-colonel William Augustus Pitt. These families stand pre-eminent in the Letters of Junius. A careful perusal of the trial, and a knowledge of the parties connected with it, must convince every reader that the pen of a disgraced soldier was afterwards exercised in rétaliation—not one family being spared, who had any share in the transaction.

Lord Orford gives the following description of the mode in which Lord George conducted his defence, (ii. 430):—"Lord George's own behaviour was most extraordinary. He had undoubtedly trusted to the superiority of his parts to extricate him. Most men in his situation would have adapted such parts to the conciliating the favour of his judges, to drawing the witnesses into contradictions, to misleading and bewildering the Court, and to throwing the most specious colours on his own conduct, without offending the parties declared against him. Very different was the conduct of Lord George. From the outset, and during the whole process, he assumed a dictatorial style to the Court, and treated the inferiority of their capacities as he would have done if sitting among them. He browbeat the

witnesses, gave the lie to Sloper, and used the Judge-advocate (a Scotsman), though a very clever man, with contempt. Nothing was timid, nothing humble in his behaviour. His replies were quick and spirited. He prescribed to the Court, and they acquiesced. An instance of such resolution at Minden had established his character for ever."

"No man can have read Junius carefully," observes Mr. Barker (p. 36), "without observing the *high-mindedness and pride which belong to his character*. Such a writer would not be willing to impress his readers with a notion that he derived any considerable assistance from the pen of any living writer, or from the conversation of any living statesmen."

On the 3rd of April 1760, the proceedings against Lord George Sackville closed, when the Court pronounced the following sentence:—

"This Court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that Lord George Sackville is GUILTY of *having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick*, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey, as commander-in-chief, according to the rules of war. And it is the further opinion of this Court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby ADJUDGED *unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever*."

The sentence was confirmed by the king in the following words: "It is his Majesty's pleasure that the above sentence be given out in public orders, that officers, being convinced that *neither high birth nor great employments* can shelter offences of such a nature; and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death, to a man who

has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders."

The king also struck Lord George's name out of the Council-book, and forbade his appearance at Court. The Lord Chamberlain too was ordered to notify that prohibition to the Prince of Wales and the Princess Dowager; and lest that should not be sufficient, the Vice-chamberlain was sent to acquaint Lord Bute with it, who said, "*to be sure the Prince would not think of seeing Lord George while it was disagreeable to his Majesty.*" Accordingly, both the Princess Dowager and Lord Bute prohibited the young prince from seeing him.

From this, it appears that Lord George was on terms of intimacy with the Princess Dowager and family previously to his disgrace, and that Junius was also perfectly acquainted with the character of the Princess and her son, afterwards George III., is evident from the following passages in his Letters. He thus speaks of the king in his letter to Mr. Horne.

"24th July 1771. I know *that man* much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humoured fool. A systematical education, with long practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite."

And in his private letters to Mr. Woodfall, will be found the following passages:

"21st February 1771. I think the argument about Gibraltar, etc. is too good to be lost; as to the satirical part, I must tell you (and with positive certainty), that our gracious * * * * is as callous as a stockfish to every thing but the reproach of *cowardice*. That alone is able to set the humours afloat. After a paper of that kind, he won't eat meat for a week."

“10th December 1771. What do you mean by affirming that the Dowager is better? I tell you that she suckles toads from morning till night.”

No person, we think, can read the above and similar passages in Junius's Letters, without acquiescing in the justice of Mr. Butler's conclusion, that he must have been a man of “*high rank*,” and “in habits of confidential, intercourse with those who were most intimately familiar with the Court, and intrusted with all its secrets,” as suggested by Dr. Good.

In the Royal Register before referred to (vol. vi. 177), it is said:—“The Court-martial seemed to imbibe the spirit of all ranks of men when it condemned him; and his sentence was passed, as it were, with the general assent of the nation. Even the pity of the English people, which discovers itself towards the most hardened and atrocious malefactors, did not appear to dart one ray towards this unpopular nobleman. Among the many political reasons which might be given for this strong tide of displeasure, it may be observed, that the army thought itself disgraced by its late commander, and the navy raised its head on the occasion, and almost forgot the fate of an unfortunate admiral. But there was another circumstance, which deprived him of those consolations to the unfortunate which friendship so kindly bestows. *The haughtiness of his temper was intolerable*, and had displayed itself in every situation of his life. They who had favours to ask, were treated with an inattention which aggravated disappointment; and they who received them, lost half their satisfaction by the manner in which he conferred them; while persons of all ranks, who had concerns of business with him, were witnesses to that haughty demeanour which

tends to make men more unpopular than even crimes themselves.”

Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against Lord George, he still had some zealous and able advocates; for Smollett, in his History of England, has given a very interesting account of the whole transaction; and after ably vindicating Lord George from the imputation of cowardice, concludes his narrative in the following strain of generous and manly eloquence:—“ Thus have we given a succinct detail of this remarkable affair, with that spirit of impartiality, that sacred regard to truth, which the importance of history demands. To the best of our recollection, we have forgot no essential article of the accusation, nor suppressed any material circumstance urged in defence of Lord George Sackville. Unknown to his person, unconnected with his friends; unmoved by fear, unbiassed by interest, we have candidly obeyed the dictates of justice and the calls of humanity, in our endeavours to dissipate the clouds of prejudice and misapprehension, warmed perhaps, with an honest disdain, at the ungenerous, and in our opinion unjust persecution, which, previous to his trial, an officer of rank, service, and character, the descendant of an illustrious family, the son of a nobleman universally respected, a Briton, a fellow-subject, had undergone.”

In “Almon’s Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes” will also be found an eulogy on his Lordship, and an exculpatory account of the motives which influenced his conduct at Minden; and some curious reasoning is employed to vindicate Lord George from the imputation of *pride and hauteur*, which seem very generally to have been urged against him. The conclusion of the

argument is, that it was “resentment, not cowardice, that suspended the march of the cavalry in the plains of Minden.”

Several of the numerous places held by Lord George Sackville were bestowed by the king on those very men who had given evidence against him. The Marquis of Granby was appointed Commander-in-chief and Master-general of the Ordnance. Lord Townshend, Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance. The Honourable Colonel Fitzroy was appointed Aid-de-camp to the king. Lord Charles Manners, and the Honourable John Barrington, were likewise promoted; and the Duke of Bedford was made a Lieutenant-general, and *Deputy Ranger of the Phoenix Park, Dublin, which had been Lord George's sinecure for many years*. Johnstone, Elliot, and many other officers whom Junius treats with great severity, and mentions with the most sovereign contempt, were likewise promoted.

Thus have we shewn, that the unhappy victims against whom Junius hurled his thunderbolts with tremendous force and unerring aim, had either by themselves, or their immediate connexions, been instrumental in Lord George's disgrace, or had obtained honours and offices from which he had been degraded and expelled; and we must remember that a dishonoured soldier, having his understanding warped by a deep sense of irremediable wrongs, and infuriated *by revenge*, was not likely to be very particular in selecting the objects of his vengeance. Like the wolf in the fable, it mattered little to him whether it was the unoffending lamb, or some of his kindred, who had rendered turbid the stream of his reputation. The sacrifice of any of the offending race, would be some atonement to the manes of his departed honour, for this,

“ If not victory, was at least revenge.”

The haughty and ambitious spirit of Lord George brooded in solitude over his disgrace; and it can be shewn, that the sense of his degradation ever afterwards haunted his imagination, and that the incurable wound rankled in his breast, and embittered the last hours of his existence.

The sentence of the Court-martial rose up in judgment against Lord George on many occasions during the subsequent part of his life, and painfully reminded him of the high estate from which he had fallen. On the accession of George III. in 1760, he ventured to appear at Court; but this was considered so great an indignity to the memory of the late king, and those ministers who conducted the German war, that an inquiry was set on foot to ascertain who invited him. It was traced to Lord Bute, and he was officially informed that such an invitation was a great breach of decorum. The same was signified to Lord George, who, highly indignant at being thus made the dupe of Lord Bute and the ministry, never appeared at Court afterwards during that administration. Even after he had been sworn a member of the Privy Council, and appointed one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland in 1765, he was removed in the following year, in consequence of the new ministry objecting to his taking a part in the administration, on the ground of the censure of the Court-martial being still in force against him, and he held no other place under Government until the year 1775. It was during this interval that the Letters of Junius appeared. In order to preserve unbroken this important chain of evidence, it will be necessary here to anticipate an incident or two in Lord George's life.

On introducing a motion in the House of Commons,

on the 14th of December 1770, Lord George said, "what he had been urging was for the honour of the nation, *in which he declared that he greatly interested himself.*" Upon which Governor Johnstone took occasion to remark, "he wondered the noble Lord should interest himself so deeply in the honour of his country, *when he had hitherto been so regardless of his own.*" The remark was not heard by Lord George, but some good-natured friend of course quickly informed him of it, and the consequence was a duel between the parties, which ended without injury to either of the combatants, but called forth the usual compliments to each other's politeness, coolness, and courage.

Immediately on Lord George's resigning his office of Secretary of State in 1782, he was created a peer by the title of VISCOUNT SACKVILLE; which was no sooner publicly known, than the Marquis of Carmarthen, on the 7th of February 1782, called the attention of the House of Peers to the circumstances, and brought forward a motion to prevent the newly created peer from taking his seat among them. The Marquis disclaimed any personal animosity; but said he understood that a person who had in his military character been publicly degraded, was shortly to be called up to that House. He did not mean to dispute the prerogative of the Crown, but he thought the creating such a person a peer, was a *disgrace to the House.* He felt so in his own breast, and he trusted every one of their Lordships would be impressed with feelings of a similar nature. He therefore called upon the House, for assistance and instructions. The Lord Chancellor however declared, that it would be in his mind altogether irregular and disorderly, even to put such a motion. Lord Denbigh moved an adjourn-

ment, which, after some debate, was carried by a majority of seventy-five to twenty-eight.

Even after the peerage had actually been conferred, the Marquis of Carmarthen, on the 18th of February, again brought forward the subject, and made the following motion:—"That it was highly reprehensible in any person to advise the Crown to exercise its indisputable right of creating a peer, in favour of a person labouring under the heavy censure of the sentence of a court-martial, and public orders given out in consequence thereof." Lord Sackville, who had taken his seat a few days before, was upon this occasion his own defender, and delivered a speech which was admitted on all hands to be one of great ability.

The motion was supported by the Dukes of Grafton and Richmond, the Earls of Abingdon and Derby, Lord Southampton (formerly Colonel Fitzroy), and Lord Shelburne, who, after charging Lord Sackville with having had the whole strength of the country put into his hands to carry on the American war, and having failed most miserably, nevertheless gave him credit for having held a more manly style of language than any other minister, and for having uniformly acted with the nicest feelings, the strictest honour, the most unimpeachable integrity, and the most distinguished ability. With regard to the person who had been appointed the noble Viscount's successor (Mr. Welbore Ellis), all he would say of him was, that he, at least, could not be charged *with disobedience of orders*, from the first day of his getting admission into the ministerial phalanx to the present moment." The result was the defeat of the motion by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-eight; but

a strong protest against the decision was entered on the Journals, and signed by nine peers. Thus terminated this unprecedented affair; and it is worthy of remark, that nearly the whole of those who were in the minority, had been *personally attacked by Junius*.

The following observations are made by Mr. Richard Cumberland on this transaction:—"The well-known circumstance that occurred upon the event of Lord George's elevation to the peerage, made a deep and painful impression on his feeling mind; and if his seeming patience under the infliction of it should appear to merit in a moral sense the name of virtue, I must candidly acknowledge it was a virtue that he had no title to be credited for, inasmuch as it was entirely owing to the influence of some who overruled his propensities, and made themselves responsible for his honour, that he did not betake himself to the same abrupt, unwarrantable mode of dismissing this insult, as he had resorted to in a former instance. No man can speak from a more intimate knowledge of his feelings upon this occasion than I can; and if I was not on the side of those who no doubt spoke well and wisely, when they spoke for peace, it is one amongst the many errors and offences which I have yet to repent of. There was once a certain Sir Edward Sackville, whom the world has heard of, who probably would not have possessed himself with so much calmness and forbearance as did a late noble head of his family, whilst the question I allude to was in agitation, and he present in his place. It was by the medium of this noble personage, that the Lord Viscount Sackville meditated to send that invitation he had prepared, when the interposition and well considered remonstrance of

some of his *nearest friends, in particular of Lord Amherst*, put him by from his resolve, and dictated a conduct more conformable to prudence, but much less suited to his inclination."—*Cumberland's Memoirs*, ii. 175.

These remarks of Mr. Cumberland afford much ground for serious reflection. Of the friends whom Lord Sackville consulted on the important subject, whether he should vindicate his honour by "a gothic appeal to cold iron," it appears that General Lord Amherst, a warrior by profession, who had passed his life amidst perils and dangers of all kinds, whose courage was undoubted, and his honour without a stain, counselled conciliation and peace. While Cumberland, whose life had been devoted to the cultivation of literature, and those polite arts which are said to soften and humanize the heart of man, and purge it from every sanguinary and ferocious feeling, declared in the words of Moloch,

"My sentence is for open war."

But on most similar occasions it will be found, that the man of real courage and unsullied honour, regards with indifference and contempt, those charges and insinuations from which duels generally spring—such a man feels conscious that his character is above all base imputations. "It is the middle, compound character," as Junius tells Sir William Draper, "which alone is vulnerable; the man who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it;" that resorts to this mode of vindicating his reputation. Fortunately on the present occasion, Lord Sackville had the good sense to prefer the wise counsel of the rude soldier, to the contrary advice of the accomplished dramatist.

“Understanding,” says Mr. Coventry (Preface, p. 17), “that the family of Lord Sackville still possess documents of great interest, and considering the political ferment of the day too long subsided to awaken any unpleasant feelings, I resolved to write candidly to the Duke of Dorset on the subject.

“I stated to his Grace, that I was engaged in a literary inquiry, with which his *illustrious father* was intimately connected, and should feel particularly obliged by his permitting me to see the letters which were written by Lord George from Culloden and Minden; hoping that the liberality which so conspicuously characterises the nobility of the present day, in elucidation of any literary pursuit, would plead an excuse for my freedom in thus addressing him. I subsequently waited on his Grace by appointment. He received me in the most polite manner, but told me it was out of his power to render me assistance, *not having any of his father’s letters in his possession*. Upon the whole he considered, that as the affair in question was now at rest, it would be as well not to revive it, lest animadversions should be made that would tend to recall past events. His Grace more than once observed during the interview, *that his father was an injured man*; but he believed there never existed one, who naturally possessed a better or more susceptible heart. I told him that this was my firm belief, and that the inquiry in which I was engaged would not, in the slightest degree, tend to alter that opinion.”

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE'S

LIFE CONTINUED, FROM HIS TRIAL TO HIS BEING APPOINTED
SECRETARY OF STATE.

The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together:
our virtues would be proud, if our faults whipped them not;
and our crimes would despair, if they were not cherished by our
virtues.

Shakspeare.

Twist ye—twine ye—ever so
Mingle human joy and woe.

Sir Walter Scott.

CHAPTER X.

The nature of circumstantial evidence explained.—Lord George retires to his seat in Kent.—Is appointed a Privy-councillor and one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland in 1765.—His perfect leisure found to agree with Mr. Barker's conclusion respecting the situation of Junius.—His age shewn to correspond with Dr. Good's opinion of the age of Junius.—Junius's contradictory assertions with regard to his being a soldier proved to be consistent with Lord George's peculiar situation.—Lord George resident in London during the time the Letters were written.—The position of his house at Kew enabled him to obtain intelligence of what was passing in the King's palace.—The opinion of the author of "Junius Unmasked" respecting Lord George's qualification for writing the Letters of Junius.—Lord George treated as the author of the Letters of Junius by "Titus."—Junius's attack on Lord Granby consistent with Lord George being the author.—The general suspicion of his being Junius further shewn from Chatterton's Poems.—His Lordship takes the name of GERMAIN.—Anecdote of his Lordship and a young clergyman.—Lord Germain again makes a conspicuous figure in the House of Commons in 1770.—Junius's antipathy to Sir Fletcher Norton and Lord Mansfield shewn to be also entertained by Lord Germain.—That his Lordship, as well as Junius, was the friend of Alderman Sawbridge.—His Lordship's defence of Woodfall, and disregard of Mr. Horne, when brought before the House of Commons for a libel.—Junius and Lord Germain both proved to be great admirers of Mr. G. Grenville's political principles.—Lord Germain supports the Ministers in their coercive measures against America.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE

CONTINUED.

Whenever *a fact* is touched upon, *there I fix.*

Junius.

As we now approach the period when the Letters of Junius appeared, it becomes necessary to detail with some degree of minuteness, the evidence which has been adduced to prove the identity of Lord George Sackville with the author of those Letters. This evidence, it is obvious from the nature of the case, cannot be direct and positive, but must necessarily be presumptive, or circumstantial. It may, therefore, not be out of place to offer a few remarks on the nature of such evidence. Circumstantial evidence, by the law of England, is admissible both in civil and criminal cases; for the modes of reasoning and drawing conclusions from facts must be uniform. When direct facts cannot be supplied, as must continually happen in some of the worst species of crime, reasonable minds will necessarily form their judgment on circumstances, and act on the probabilities of the case: indeed, the whole system of human action depends on probability; and “as mathematical, or absolute certainty (to use the words of Lord Mansfield) is seldom to be attained in human affairs, reason and public utility require that Judges, and all mankind, in forming their opinion of the truth of facts, should be regulated by the superior number of the probabilities on the one side or the other, whether the amount of

these probabilities be expressed in words and arguments, or by figures and numbers." Lord Kennet, in delivering his judgment in the celebrated Douglas cause, says:—"Of all evidence to prove a crime, circumstantial evidence is *the most convincing, and what is more, the least suspicious*. In judging of such a proof, the whole circumstances must be taken together; some by themselves may appear trivial, which when joined to others, appear exceedingly material."

It has been further remarked of this species of evidence, that when the proofs are dependent on each other, or when all the proofs are dependent upon one, the number of proofs neither increase nor diminish the probability of the fact; for the force of the whole is not greater than the force of that on which they depend, and if this fail, they all fall to the ground. But when the proofs are distinct and independent of each other, the probability of the fact increases in proportion to the number of the proofs, for the falsehood of one does not diminish the veracity of another.

After his disgrace, Lord George Sackville retired to his paternal mansion at Knowle in Kent; and from the year 1760 to 1765, there appears an interregnum in his public life, though he continued member of parliament for Hythe. In the year 1765 he was nominated by George the Third a member of the Privy-council, and appointed one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland; but this last situation his Lordship resigned a few months afterwards, upon the DUKE OF GRAFTON being appointed to the Treasury. These appointments gave him an opportunity of knowing every minute circumstance connected with Irish affairs, all the movements of the Ministry, all

that was passing in the immediate circle of the Court, as well as in the various departments of the army, the navy, and the foreign office.

During his retirement, Lord George had ample leisure in solitude to brood over his wrongs and injuries, and of “nursing his wrath to keep it warm,” as well as to improve himself in composition, and amass those stores of legal and constitutional knowledge which the Letters of Junius exhibit; indeed, his situation seems exactly to have corresponded with that of Junius, as described by Mr. E. H. Barker, who says (p. 141):—“It may be affirmed beyond all contradiction, and I particularly invite the attention of the reader to the importance and novelty of the observation, because it is decisive against the claim of Sir Philip Francis and several other persons, that the author could not have had leisure for any other pursuit, or any other business, while he was engaged in writing these Letters: he must have lived in the retirement of his own presence, confining his society, when he could admit society, chiefly to those few individuals who furnished him with facts, and incidents, and circumstances, or in any way favoured his views and facilitated his labours. In solitary majesty, in oriental seclusion, in the realm of silence, and in the land of oblivion, he was “left at large to his own dark designs,” till, like another Aurungzebe, he came forth, “fierce from his lair to lap the blood of kings,”—with Titanian look denouncing

“Desperate revenge and battle dangerous
To less than Gods,”—

till arrayed at length in “Gorgon terrors,” and armed with infernal thunder, he, as from “a firmament of hell, spouted his cataracts of fire.”

The Letters written by the Author of Junius in the Public Advertiser, commenced on the 28th April 1767, and ended the 12th May 1772, except one letter to Mr. Woodfall, which is dated January 19, 1773. By an examination of the dates of the letters during this period, it will be found, that the writer could not have been absent from London many weeks together. At the time the first letter appeared, Lord George was in the fifty-first year of his age; which coincides with Dr. Good's conjecture respecting the age of Junius, and fully satisfies that test which requires him to have "attained an age which could allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world." He had also been dismissed from the army eight years, and therefore, he could *then* truly assert that he was not a soldier; which reconciles perhaps the only contradictory assertion, not essentially connected with the preservation of his secret, to be found in the Letters of Junius. During the whole period in which the Letters appeared, Lord George was *constant in his attendance on his parliamentary duties*, and his town residence then, and for many years previously, was the house afterwards occupied by the late Mr. Angerstein, in Pall Mall, and recently well known as the National Gallery. Of the multitudes of persons who have viewed the treasures of art in this mansion, few have suspected that in all probability they were traversing the apartments in which the perturbed spirit of Junius sought revenge in composing his caustic and brilliant Letters. It is to be remarked, that one letter, written by the author of Junius under the signature of "Tell Truth," on the 8th May 1772, is dated "*Pall Mall*" similar to the letter, written by Lord George to Lord Barrington, and dated

from the same place, in September 1759, which we have given at p. 254; but this is the only instance in which the wary Junius has been guilty of such an inadvertence.

To account for the wonderful dispatch with which Junius became acquainted with Garrick's visit to Richmond, and the exact knowledge he displays of other secret transactions in the interior of the palace, the industry of Mr. Coventry has discovered that at the period in question, Lord George rented a house at Richmond, formerly occupied by the poet Thomson. This house stood exactly opposite to the entrance to the grounds of the palace, near Richmond Green, which the King then occupied. The front of Lord George's house so completely overlooked the palace, that without exciting suspicion, he could notice the daily arrivals with the utmost facility; and his friend Colonel Amherst (brother to Sir Jeffery Amherst) was one of the King's aids-de-camp, and held the situation of groom of the bed-chamber, from whom he could obtain intelligence of what took place *within* the palace. As this seems a point of some importance in the chain of evidence, Mr. Coventry gives the following authority for his statement, "The circumstance that Lord George *did* occupy this house at the time of Garrick's visit, was communicated to me by W. Little, Esq., of Richmond, and has been *fully confirmed* by a most respectable gentleman, an old inhabitant of the place, who knew Lord George personally at the time of his residence there." The palace was several years since pulled down, and the grounds now form part of Richmond Gardens; but the house in which Thomson, and afterwards Lord George resided, and which has now become classic ground, is still in

existence, and was lately occupied by Lady Shaftesbury. The author of 'Junius Unmasked,' observes that:—"The situation of Privy Councillor, which Lord George held during *ten years*, commencing from 1765, rendered his opportunities for information of the most secret nature, in regard to every department of the government, very far superior to those of any other individual, who has ever been suspected as the author of Junius. His friendship for Mr. D'Oyly (whom we afterwards find holding the situation of Lord George's *private and confidential secretary*), reveals the source of Junius's knowledge as regards the War Office, and his situation as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, accounts for the very surprising and intimate acquaintance which Junius manifested with the most secret deliberations in regard to the affairs of that kingdom.

"His rank and situation gave him access to the person of the King, and having been familiar with him from his youth, he was intimately acquainted with his habits and disposition. His age and experience; his long and intimate acquaintance with the history of his country, and especially that of his own times; his familiarity with every family of rank in the nation; his services as a soldier, his interest in the army, and his practical knowledge of every thing connected with it; his legal and political learning, acquired not only from the study of the English constitution, but from the practice of its forms, and the observations of its workings in the House of Commons; his attainments as a scholar, and a man of the world; in fine, all the circumstances of his life and character, rendered him well fitted for a task like that of composing the Letters of Junius."

The notice of the public, we have seen, was first drawn to the writings of Junius by his controversy with Sir William Draper, respecting the character of THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY, then commander-in-chief. Now it will be recollected, that Lord Granby served under Lord George at the Battle of Minden, and was complimented by Prince Ferdinand for his conduct on that day, at the expense of Lord George, and therefore, they must have been perfectly well acquainted with each other's talents and character; and it appears very strong circumstantial evidence to prove that Lord George was the author of the Letters of Junius, when we find he was treated as such, not only by Lord Granby's intimate friend Sir William Draper, but also by a writer, who under the signature of 'TITUS,' put forth another defence of Lord Granby. Sir William Draper, as remarked by Junius, "entered the lists as a volunteer, with all the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier;" but it is not probable that the commander-in-chief was such a novice, as to leave the entire defence of his character to a volunteer, however able, and therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude, that Titus wrote *from authority*, and was furnished with materials and ammunition from head-quarters, for the purpose of repelling the assault on his chief. The letter of Titus will accordingly be found to contain an able defence of Lord Granby; and in terms which cannot be misunderstood, points out Lord George Sackville as the author of the attack on the Commander-in-chief, by bitter and sarcastic allusions to his disgraceful conduct at Minden. As the letter is of considerable length, and may be seen at large in Woodfall's Junius (vol. i. 83), we shall only give such extracts from it, as will confirm our statement:—

“My Lord Granby’s character,” says Titus, “as a man, as a soldier, and even as a general, will stand the test. The honesty of his heart, the integrity of his intentions, his intrepidity as a soldier, and his conduct as an officer, are unimpeached. It is true, his talents as commander-in-chief have never been tried in the field; but if we may be allowed to judge from the whole of his conduct during the late war in Germany, where the execution of many important enterprises were intrusted to him by one of the greatest generals, and one of the best judges of military merit in Europe, we may form great expectations, with the highest probability of not being disappointed. *He knows how to obey*; he knows that a good soldier *never disputes the commands of his superior*. He always discharged his duty *to the satisfaction of Duke Ferdinand*, whose approbation, thanks, and acknowledgments, he repeatedly obtained. Wherever he was employed, he gained honour to himself—he was beloved and esteemed by the army under his command—he was honoured and respected by the enemy—dear to the victors!—generous to the vanquished! *You know, JUNIUS, that he feared not to lead on the cavalry at Minden*. He gained glory and honour at Warburg. It was the corps under his command who fought and gained the battle at Phillinghausen. He was principally concerned, and acted as became the soldier and general, at Wilhelmstahl.” Again: “Whatever JUNIUS may think (though he may, for aught I know, be *perfectly unacquainted with it himself*), the gaining the affections of the soldiers will always be esteemed no mean qualification in a general.”

Junius, it appears, intended to answer this letter, for

his Letter to Sir William Draper of 18th February 1768, when first printed, contained the following postscript:—
“I had determined to leave the Commander-in-chief in the quiet possession of his *friend and his bottle*; but *Titus deserves an answer, and shall have a complete one.*” It seems, however, that Junius changed his mind, for no answer was ever given to the Letter of Titus; and therefore, when the genuine edition of the Letters of Junius were published, edited by the author himself, he informs Woodfall, in a note of 27th November 1771, that “*the postscript to Titus must be omitted.*” Now this is a very curious circumstance, and strongly confirmative of Titus being right in his conjecture. Junius was evidently irritated at the first appearance of Titus’s Letter, and meditated an answer; and his subsequent conduct can only be accounted for, on the supposition, that upon more mature reflection, he considered it would be too dangerous to enter into a contest with a man who had *penetrated his disguise*, and so let the matter drop; and when the Letters were afterwards collected into volumes, *he artfully suppressed the only evidence of his having ever noticed the obnoxious letter.*

It seems clear likewise, that when Junius found Sir William Draper pertinaciously continued the contest, notwithstanding the severe castigation inflicted on him, he took the earliest opportunity of retiring from the field. “My answer,” says he, “to your last letter shall be short; for I write to you *with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever.*” It must, however, be admitted that he made his retreat in excellent order, with colours flying, and all the honours of war. As the remembrance of his old comrade Lord

Granby, and the rest of his brethren in arms, would naturally be associated with *unpleasant recollections* in the mind of Lord George, the conduct of Junius towards Lord Granby is quite intelligible and consistent with the hypothesis of Lord George's being the author of the Letters. But although he could not be expected to love the man who had crossed his path, and eclipsed his fame at Minden,—who had been a witness against him on his trial, and afterwards obtained an honourable and lucrative office from which he had been dismissed; still he seems to have been impressed with sentiments of respect for Lord Granby's character, for in a note to the genuine edition of the Letters, it is observed:—"The death of Lord Granby was lamented by Junius. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the public, and seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life, he was unquestionably that *good man*, who, for the interest of his country, ought to have been a *great one*." "Bonum virum facile dixeris; magnum libenter.—I speak of him now without partiality; I never spoke of him with resentment."

As a further proof that Lord George Sackville was generally considered the writer of the Letters on their first appearance, we find in a poem entitled the 'Consuliad,' written by the unfortunate Chatterton, in January 1770, the following lines:—

Let Draper to improve his diction fight;
Our heroes, like *Lord George*, could scold and write.

Chatterton, in a few political letters which appeared in the periodicals of the day, evidently aimed at the style of Junius; he very probably attended to the rumours then afloat concerning the authorship. It was a question

sure to interest the discoverer of Rowley's Poems; and the bold and passionate boy, whom neither disappointment, hunger, nor certain death, could depress—would hail a kindred spirit in the savage Junius. So that his opinion is altogether deserving of attention.

By the will of Lady Betty Germain, Lord George in 1769, came into possession of personal property amounting to upwards of 20,000*l.*, in addition to very valuable estates at Drayton in Northamptonshire; upon taking possession of which, he dropped the name of Sackville, and took that of GERMAIN, which he continued to use until he was called to the Upper House by the title of Viscount Sackville, in the year 1782.

One of the most remarkable traits in the character of Junius, was the imperturbable coolness and self-possession displayed in his public letters; and that Lord George was equally cool and collected, is evident from the following anecdote. Shortly after he had taken the name of Germain, he had presented a living in his gift to a young clergyman who was totally unknown to him, on the recommendation of a relative; and upon the gentleman's waiting on his Lordship to return thanks for the favour, Lord Germain, in the most courteous manner observed,—that if he had any objection to the living, on account of the parsonage-house being situate near a powder-mill, he would exchange it for another which had just fallen in. To this the clergyman, to shew at once his gratitude and his wit, answered, that he would gladly avail himself of his Lordship's kind offer, as he *disliked powder as much as Lord George Sackville*. To which his Lordship, without the least change of countenance, replied, "In that particular, Sir, you may find,

upon consideration, that common fame has deceived you." He then bowed and retired; and the facetious priest soon afterwards discovered, to his astonishment and dismay, that Lord George Germain and Lord George Sackville were the same person!

Early in the session of 1770, Lord George again performed a conspicuous part in Parliament, where his eloquence and sound reasoning soon gained him the applause of the House as an able oppositionist to the measures of ministers. His quickness at reply, and his judgment on all important affairs, were so highly thought of by Mr. Pitt, that he styled him the Agamemnon of the day.

It is remarkable, that from the time of his trial in 1760 to the year 1769 (although in the interim he had been introduced as a member of the Privy Council), he did not come forward in any public capacity; but soon after the commencement of Junius's Letters, we find him in the House of Commons assuming a position decidedly hostile to the existing administration.

The antipathy of Junius towards SIR FLETCHER NORTON, the Speaker, is evident from the contempt with which he uniformly speaks of him. And we find, that on the death of Sir John Cust in 1770, Lord North, on the 22d of January, proposed Sir Fletcher Norton to fill the vacant seat, and Mr. Rigby seconded the motion; but Lord George Germain did not approve of the worthy knight, for he seconded the motion of Lord John Cavendish, who proposed the Right Honorable Thomas Townshend: Sir Fletcher, however, being a stanch ministerialist, was elected.

On the 28th May 1770, Junius thus mentions the new

Speaker:—"The Speaker being young in office, began with pretending ignorance, and ended with deciding for the Ministry. We were not surprised at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness, and every man was astonished."

Lord George, however, finally succeeded in expelling Sir Fletcher Norton from the chair in the year 1780, when, in an able speech, he proposed Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq., to fill the chair, who was elected, after considerable opposition.

At the opening of the session of parliament early in January 1770, we find Lord George in the House of Commons, foremost in the ranks of opposition, cavilling at the Ministers' answer to the King's speech. From a long speech he made on the occasion, which is given by Mr. Coventry (p. 227), we extract the following passage respecting the Middlesex election: "The unprecedented decision of the majority of this House, with regard to the Middlesex election, has spread a gloom throughout the whole kingdom; every brow is clouded, and every heart is heavy. The freedom of election is the sacred palladium of English liberty, and when that is violated, it cannot be long before our constitution is in ruins. It is not enough that the majority who decided the question are satisfied with the rectitude of their intentions, or that they did not mean to break in upon that freedom,—the people must be satisfied. Their all is at stake; they apprehend that is in danger, and therefore they have a right to demand security. The powerful influence that operates in this House is too visible. The people see it and dread it. But a snare is now laid to involve our Sovereign in *the gulph of his corrupt administration*; to

draw him in as a party, and to countenance *the desperate measures of his Ministers*; a snare which it is to be hoped this House will break. Whoever can concur in offering such indignity to his Sovereign, is neither a good senator nor a good subject. He can have no worthy conception of the exalted character of a great prince, nor of the inestimable value of the liberty of a free people."

"Can any one read this speech," observes Mr. Coventry, "without being forcibly reminded of the strong, energetic, powerful language of Junius? Many of the sentences are almost verbatim. The same violent attack on the Ministers, the same voice in reference to the King, the same allusion to the freedom of election, the massacre in St. George's Fields, the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and finally, a fear lest the shattered remains of the constitution should fall a prey to the violence of the people, and they in the end resolve to be governed without a parliament. Lord George could not have borrowed his ideas from Junius, provided he were not the author, as the speech was delivered in 1770, and the Letter of Junius, containing the allusions above referred to, was not then published."

The extreme hatred evinced by Junius to LORD MANSFIELD is notorious. "Our language," says he, in his letter to his Lordship, "has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not been happily applied to you, and exhausted." It is equally clear that Lord Mansfield was likewise the subject of Lord George's dislike; but the cause of this enmity is involved in considerable obscurity. Mr. Coventry says that it arose from Lord Mansfield's having assured him, previously to his trial, that he could not be convicted;

but as Lord Mansfield had been appointed Chief Justice in 1756, four years prior to Lord Sackville's trial, and then became a member of the Cabinet, it is not probable that he would give an extra-judicial opinion on a doubtful point of law. Mr. Butler, who was more likely to be correctly informed on a subject of this nature, suggests, that Lord George's hatred against Lord Mansfield arose from his being the secret and confidential adviser of government in all state prosecutions: but from whatever cause the antipathy may have originally arisen, it appears that Woodfall's trial before Lord Mansfield, for publishing Junius's Letter to the King, took place on the 13th of June 1770, and Junius's virulent Letter to Lord Mansfield is dated the 14th of November following. It is therefore not unlikely, that Lord George's dislike to Lord Mansfield was greatly heightened by the Chief Justice's conduct and demeanour on that trial; for we find, that when Serjeant Glynn brought forward his motion in the House of Commons on the 6th December following, for a committee to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, Lord George delivered the following speech on the occasion, in which a vein of satire and invective will be observed to run through the whole, under the mask of friendship for Lord Mansfield:

“Consider, gentlemen,” says the orator, “what will be the consequence of refusing this demand, this debt, which you owe to the anxious expectation of the public. The people, seeing *his* avowed defenders so loth to bring him forth on the public stage, and to make him plead his cause before their tribunal, will naturally conclude, that he could not bear the light, because his deeds were evil; and that, therefore, you judged it advisable to screen him

behind the curtain of a majority. *Though his conduct was never questioned in parliament, mark how he is every day, and every hour, pointed out in print and conversation, as a perverter of the law, and an enemy of the constitution.* No epithet is too bad for him. Now he is the subtle Scroggs, now the arbitrary Jeffries. All the records of our courts of law, and all the monuments of our lawyers, are ransacked, in order to find sufficiently odious names by which he may be christened. The libellous and virulent spirit of the times has overleaped all the barriers of law, order, and decorum. The judges are no longer revered, and the laws have lost all their salutary terrors. Juries will not convict petty delinquents, when they suspect *grand criminals go unpunished*. Hence libels and lampoons, audacious beyond the example of all other times; libels, in comparison of which, the North Briton, once deemed the *ne plus ultra* of sedition, is perfect innocence and simplicity. The sacred number, Forty-five, formerly the idol of the multitude, is eclipsed by the superior venom of every day's defamation: all its magical and talismanic powers are lost and absorbed in the general deluge of scandal which pours from the press. When matters are thus circumstanced, when the judges in general, and *Lord Mansfield in particular*, are there hung out to public scorn and detestation, now that libellers receive no countenance from men high in power and in the public esteem,—what will be the consequence when it is publicly known, that they have been arraigned, and that their friends quashed inquiry which it was proposed to make upon their conduct? The consequence is more easily conceived than expressed. *I foresee* that the imps of the press, the sons of ink, and the printers'

devils, will be all in motion; and they will spare you as little as they will the judges. Like the two thieves in the Gospel, both will be hung up and gibbeted, with the law crucified between you, for the entertainment of coffee-house politicians, greasy carmen, and porters and barbers in tippling houses and night cellars. I cannot help thinking that it is the wish of Lord Mansfield himself to have his conduct examined; nay, I collect as much from the language of a gentleman who may be supposed to know his sentiments. What foundation then is there for obstructing inquiry? None at all. It is a pleasure to me to see my noble friend discovering such symptoms of conscious innocence. His ideas perfectly coincide with my own. I would never oppose the minutest scrutiny into my behaviour. However much condemned by the envy or malice of enemies, I would at least shew that I stood acquitted in my own mind. *Qui fugit judicium, ipso teste, reus est."*

Mr. Coventry considers this speech one of the most extraordinary ever delivered in the House of Commons. "Would any one," he asks, "who had any *real* feeling for another, place his noble friend in the degraded station of the thief in the Gospel, or gibbet him for the amusement of the vulgar! There is also ample testimony on the face of the speech to prove that no intimacy subsisted between them at this period, from the avowal that 'it was from the language of a gentleman who might be supposed to know his sentiments,' that he considered Lord Mansfield wished his conduct to be inquired into" (p. 189).

In allusion to the debate on Serjeant Glynn's motion, Junius says, in a letter dated December 13th, 1770: "Let it be known to posterity, that when Lord Mansfield was

attacked with so much vehemence in the House of Commons, on Thursday the 6th instant, not one of the Ministry said a word in his defence."

Here we find Junius and Lord George both acting against Lord Mansfield at the same time, and on the same subject, in so similar a manner as to be not a little remarkable, if they were not like *la republique Française*—ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.

We have before noticed the extraordinary pains which Junius took to promote the interest of ALDERMAN SAWBRIDGE, and his strenuous endeavours to get him appointed Lord Mayor, and we learn from Mr. Coventry that the Alderman resided at Olintigh, in Kent. He was Major in the East Kent militia, and afterwards Colonel of the East Battalion, and on *intimate terms with Sir Jeffery Amherst and Lord George Sackville*.

These three families, whose estates were situated in Kent, possessed considerable influence in the county, particularly that of Lord George, being descended from an ancient and powerful house. He represented Hythe in two successive parliaments, in conjunction with William Glanville, Esq. On the decease of that gentleman, which took place in 1765, the vacancy was filled up by William Amherst, Esq., brother to Sir Jeffery. In the new parliament of 1768, Lord George *resigned in favour of Alderman Sawbridge*. The election was, however, strongly contested by the Ministerial party, but Lord George's interest was so great, that the Alderman was returned by a considerable majority. The line of politics pursued by Alderman Sawbridge was strictly in unison with Lord George's principles at this eventful period. Both were strenuous in their efforts to shorten the duration of parliaments.

This is a characteristic trait in Junius, and it is evident from the interest uniformly manifested by that writer towards Alderman Sawbridge, that he was not only personally acquainted with him, and respected his private character, but was a sincere admirer of his principles as a politician. In a private letter to Mr. Woodfall (17th February 1772) Junius says, "I could not have conceived it possible, that you could protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion (in favour of triennial parliaments), it would have been of singular use." And in another letter, of 29th February 1772, he says, "I am very glad to see that the book will be out before Mr. Sawbridge's motion." On the 4th March 1772, Mr. Sawbridge's motion came on, when the Alderman made a long speech, which is the only one reported, and the motion was of course lost by a large majority. After a long search to find whether Lord George voted on the occasion, Mr. Coventry discovered the following paragraph in the Daily Advertiser of the 10th March 1772:—"Through the kindness of one of our correspondents, we have been favoured with a few of the names who voted in favour of Mr. Alderman's motion," and in this short catalogue stands the name of Lord George Sackville, which not only shews that he was in the House that night, but also that his opinion was in unison with that expressed by Junius.

On the 7th February 1774, JOHN HORNE and HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL were summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, the one as the author, and the other the printer of a libel on the Speaker; and although many able speeches were made for and against Mr. Horne, Lord George took no part in the debate, but preserved

an entire silence. When, however, Captain Phipps presented a petition from Mr. Woodfall, acknowledging his offence, and throwing himself upon the clemency of the House, Lord George was the only member who spoke in favour of receiving it, "hoping the House would discharge the prisoner at the bar: his case," he said, "was singularly hard; he was about to be punished for what his brother printers were daily guilty of, viz. printing the proceedings of the House;" and Woodfall was accordingly ordered to be discharged.

It will be recollected that Junius, in a private letter to Woodfall, dated '2th December 1769, says: "as to the House of Commons, there may be more danger. But even then, I am fully satisfied, the Ministry will exert themselves to quash such an inquiry, *and on the other hand you will have friends.*"

"Of all the political characters of the day," observes Dr. Good (Preliminary Essay, p. 81), "Mr. GRENVILLE appears to have been Junius's favourite; no man was more open to censure in many parts of his conduct, but he is never censured; while, on the contrary, he is extolled wherever an opportunity offers: yet Junius positively asserted that he had no personal knowledge of Mr. Grenville."

In his letter of the 6th August 1768, Junius applauds Mr. Grenville for enforcing the *Stamp Act* in America, and concludes by saying:—"Your correspondent confesses that Mr. Grenville is still respectable: yet he warns the friends of that gentleman not to provoke him, lest he should tell them what they may not like to hear. These are but words. He means as little what he threatens, as when he condescends to applaud. Let us meet upon the fair ground of truth, and if he finds one

vulnerable part in Mr. Grenville's character, let him fix his poisoned arrow there."

Mr. Coventry (p. 181) shews that Lord George Germain, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 7th March 1774, in reply to Mr. Burke, observed, when speaking of the Stamp Act, "*I was of opinion that it should not be repealed, and voted accordingly.*"

In one of Junius's private letters to Mr. Wilkes, dated 7th September 1771, he declared himself favourable to repealing the duty on tea in America; and in a speech delivered in parliament on the 26th January 1775, Lord George Germain expresses similar sentiments.

On a motion for making the "Grenville Act" perpetual, which was brought before the House of Commons on the 25th February 1774, Lord George expressed his admiration of Mr. Grenville's talents as a statesman, and his character as an individual, in the following words: "The author of this bill (Mr. Grenville) had preserved a good name while in office and when out, and he sincerely hoped the noble Lord would endeavour to have his name handed down to posterity with *the same honour as Mr. Grenville had.*"

In 1757, an administration was attempted to be formed, including Lord George as Secretary of War, and George Grenville as Chancellor of the Exchequer; this was however abandoned, from that period down to the time of Junius, although they continued members of successive parliaments, and coincided *in every respect in politics*, "I have never been able," observes Mr. Coventry, "to find that they were on terms of personal acquaintance; but it is evident from Lord George's eulogium on his character after his decease, that he continued a warm admirer of Mr. Grenville's talents as a statesman."

Lord George Germain took a very active part in the debates on Indian affairs, which were carried on with much acrimony and violence; but he seems to have acted conscientiously, giving his opinions with moderation, and preserving a strict regard to the merits of the case. It was, however, on American affairs that he was most calculated to influence the House by his extensive knowledge of that country, acquired through the medium of his intimate friend Sir Jeffery Amherst, and others who had served there during the late war. He likewise obtained every information of what was then passing in America, through his nephew Lord Thanet, who corresponded with Lee and other republicans in that country, and could therefore lay before the House information on American affairs to which most of the members were utter strangers. Although his Lordship was decidedly hostile to ministers in everything else, he strenuously continued to support the opinions maintained by Junius respecting the dispute with America; and while the rest of the opposition condemned the whole of the ministers' measures, Lord George *gave them his support on this point*. At last, on the 28th March 1774, he laid down so clearly the policy which ought to be adopted in the then crisis of affairs, that Lord North publicly thanked him for his hints, observing, that they were worthy of *so great a mind*, and shortly afterwards it was discovered that his Lordship's personal assistance was required to extricate ministers from the labyrinth in which they were involved.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN,

AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE AMERICAN DEPARTMENT,
AND HIS MODE OF CONDUCTING THE AMERICAN WAR.

This glorious spirit of WHIGGISM animates millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence, and will die in defence of their rights as men—as freemen,—what shall resist this spirit?

Lord Chatham.

With regard to the high-sounding, unintelligible phrases of legislative supremacy and parliamentary omnipotence towards the Americans, for my part, it only conveys to my mind such an idea, and equal satisfaction, as the answer given by the fine gentleman in the Play, who being charged with baseness by his friend, who told him he had eat his meat, drank his wine, and lain with his wife, made no other reply, at the end of every sentence, but, “Sir, I wear a sword.”

Lord Camden.

Unfortunately for this country Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed, because he was minister; and Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declarations gave spirit and argument to the colonies; and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Junius.

CHAPTER XI.

Lord Germain appointed Secretary of State for the American department.—The price paid for his assistance.—His Under-Secretaries of State and Private Secretary, etc.—Commencement of hostilities with America.—The British Ministers engage German mercenaries to coerce the Americans.—General Howe obliged to evacuate Boston.—Declaration of American Independence.—General Burgoyne and his army surrender prisoners of war.—The General denied a Court-martial.—Mr. Temple Luttrell's attack on Lord Germain.—Mr. Fox denounces Lord Germain's mode of conducting the war.—Unpopularity of Ministers.—Sir Jeffery Amherst appointed Commander-in-chief.—France and Spain declare war against England.—Speech of George the Third to his Cabinet Ministers.—The surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army to Washington.—The effect of the intelligence on the King and his Ministers.—Quarrel amongst the Ministers.—Resignation of Lord Germain.—Is created an English Peer.—Account of his Lordship's interview with his Majesty.—Further proofs of Lord Germain's identity with Junius.—Resignation of Lord North.—Peace with America.—Remarks on Lord Germain's conduct while Secretary of State.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

When Lord Chatham affirms that the authority of the British legislature is NOT SUPREME over the colonies, in the same sense in which it is supreme over Great Britain, I listen to him with diffidence and respect; but without the smallest degree of conviction or assent.

Junius.

LORD GERMAIN having adopted all those opinions which were hostile to America, and supported Lord North's bills, for altering the government of Massachusetts's bay, and shutting up the port of Boston, the ministry considered him so valuable an auxiliary, that it was resolved to secure his future services. An opportunity for carrying this design into execution soon presented itself, by the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, who being convinced of the hostile intentions of the cabinet against America, declared that his conscience forbade him supporting those measures in parliament, and therefore he resigned the privy seal, which was given to Lord Dartmouth; who was succeeded as secretary of state for the American department, on the 7th September 1775, by Lord Germain, and the conduct of the war against America was principally entrusted to his guidance.

The immediate price paid by the ministry for the accession of Lord Germain's talents to the government, appears to have been the place of *Receiver-general* of the

island of Jamaica, which by letters patent, dated 10th September 1776, was granted to Thomas Walley Partington, Esq., for the life of one of Lord Germain's sons; but his Lordship by his will, disposes of the place, and declares that his friend Partington only held it as his Lordship's trustee. Here we find the grant of a lucrative, if not an important public office, masked with all the tact and skill of Junius, and this is probably the first intimation given to the public, that the emoluments of the sinecure place of Receiver-general of the island of Jamaica have been received by Lord Germain and his nominee from 1776 to the present time. Lord Germain's own opinion of the propriety of a man of his rank and fortune, having anything to do with such a place, is pretty plainly indicated by the pains taken to mask and conceal the real party benefited by the transaction.

Upon receiving the appointment of Secretary of State, his Lordship continued as his under-secretaries Mr. De Grey and Mr. William Knox. The latter gentleman was one of Mr. Grenville's friends, and a very strenuous and persevering advocate for the British policy against America, and Mr. De Grey was the son of the Attorney-general who prosecuted Woodfall for publishing Junius's Letter to the King.

With the seals of the colonial department, Lord Germain held the office of First Lord of the Board of Trade, and in this department he appointed Mr. Richard Cumberland, the dramatist, Secretary to the Board. While the situation of his *private and confidential secretary* was held by Mr. D'OYLY; the same gentleman, be it remembered, who had been discharged from the War Office, by Lord Barrington (previously to the expulsion of Mr.

Francis from the same office), which first called forth the Letters written by Junius on Lord Barrington, under the signature of Veteran.

It has been said, that Lord Germain's adoption of Mr. Grenville's principles respecting America, was in a great degree influenced by a letter written by Sir Joseph Yates, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, to Christopher Griffiths, Esq., M.P. for Berks, relative to the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies; and we find Junius eulogizing the character of Mr. Justice Yates, in a note to his letter of November 14th, 1770, to Lord Mansfield.

To carry on the war with vigour against the Colonists, the British ministers engaged 16,000 German mercenaries to assist in their subjection: this not only exasperated the Americans to the highest degree, but was severely censured by many members of the opposition in parliament.

About the beginning of the year 1776, affairs began to take an unfavourable turn, General Howe being compelled by Washington to evacuate the town of Boston, on the 17th of March, and sail with the whole of his garrison, amounting to 7000 men, to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; and on the ever-memorable 4th of July 1776, the Congress voted their Declaration of Independence, by which act they for ever withdrew their allegiance from the king of England. Lord Germain now perceived that the war, which he flattered himself would have terminated favourably, began to assume an alarming aspect, still he, and his colleague Lord North, continued inexorably firm in their determination to support the King's private opinion, which was to prosecute the war to the last extremity.

Further disasters followed in the succeeding year, when General Burgoyne and nearly 6000 men were obliged to surrender prisoners of war by the Convention of Saratoga; and upon the General's arrival in England on his parole, he was refused admittance into the presence of his sovereign, denied the justice of a court-martial on his conduct, and subjected to a series of ministerial persecutions.

Mr. Vigners, having moved in parliament for an inquiry into the Convention of Saratoga, Mr. Temple Luttrell (a name held in utter abhorrence by Junius), *drew a comparison between the conduct of the General and the War Minister.* "In former times," he said, "it had been the custom of Britons to give praise and thanks to such of their officers and servants as exerted their strenuous and zealous efforts for the public weal, even if those efforts were not crowned with success; but now-a-days they bestowed praise only in proportion to the listlessness and inattention with which those servants performed their duty. The noble lord in the blue riband (Lord North) had recommended to his Sovereign a war minister (Lord George Germain), whose public incapacities for every vigorous exertion of mind, *whose disgrace at the Court of George the Second was founded on the most decisive censure of a Court-martial, whose loss of the nation's confidence and his own character is on public record.* What had the nation to expect from his councils? What plan of his, since he has been in office, dare he expose to the public eye, and say it has succeeded? Why then should we give him a partial acquittal, to the prejudice of a gallant officer (General Burgoyne), whose only crime has been avowedly that he *was too zealous, too brave, too enterprising, too anxious for the*

good of his country, had strictly obeyed his orders, and done all that British valour was capable of, to carry the Minister's plan into execution? Had he, instead of that, receded from his colours, disobeyed the commands of his superiors, and hid himself from danger, he might have had pretensions to one noble lord's patronage (Lord North's), and to the other's (Lord George Germain) dignities and emoluments. General Burgoyne asks a fair and open trial; the man who shrinks from it, and avails himself of an unjust partial acquittal, must be guilty."

Lord George Germain replied, that he never was personal in the House to any one, never by any conduct of his merited such an attack; *he despised that honorable member, but would level himself with his wretched character and malice; old as he was, he would meet that fighting gentleman, and be revenged.* (Here he was interrupted by a cry of order in the House, and general confusion).

The Speaker said, if the House would support him, he would keep order. (A cry of chair, chair).

Lord North admitted that Lord Germain had been out of order; what fell from him had nothing to do with the question, it was a personal attack on an individual, and therefore out of order.

Mr. Luttrell said he would not be bullied out of the privilege of a member of that House, he had a right to speak his sentiments publicly and fully on a public character. *The sentence of the Court-martial in the reign of George the Second, was a public record relative to a man in a public post of trust, which required spirit, zeal, abilities, and integrity, and many essential qualities, as requisite in a war minister as in a general. He had not alluded to the noble Lord's private vices or virtues, and if he could*

be conceived out of order as to the question, it could not imply that a public charge against the minister was a *private personality*.

Mr. Luttrell took an opportunity, in the confusion of debate, to get out of the House, to avoid being compelled not to resent Lord Germain's personal abuse of him; but the Speaker gave orders to the Serjeant-at-Arms, to stop Mr. Luttrell, and bring him to his seat, when the affair was prevented from proceeding to extremity by the intervention of the Speaker and the House.

The reader, we think, cannot fail to be struck with the similarity of an expression in Lord George's reply to the phraseology used by Junius. In a private letter to Mr. Woodfall, he says, "that Swinny is a *wretched*, but dangerous fool;" and in another letter of the 17th December 1771, he observes, "this Scævola is the *wretchedest* of all fools and dirty knaves."

Mr. Fox, in a speech made on the 2d December 1777, thus comments on Lord Germain's mode of conducting the war:—"For two years that a certain noble Lord has presided over American affairs, the most violent, scalping, tomahawk measures have been pursued: bleeding has been his only prescription. If a people deprived of their ancient rights are grown tumultuous—*bleed them!* If they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection—*bleed them!* If their fever should rise into rebellion—*bleed them!* cries this state physician: more blood! more blood! still more blood! When Dr. Sangrado had persevered in a similar practice of bleeding his patients, killing by the very means which he used for cure, his man took the liberty to remonstrate upon the necessity of relaxing in a practice to which thousands of their patients had fallen sacrifices,

and which was beginning to bring their names into disrepute. The Doctor answered, "I believe we have indeed carried the matter a little too far, but you must know I have written a book upon the efficacy of this practice; therefore, though every patient we have should die by it, we must continue the bleeding for the credit of my book."

And in another debate, on the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser as Governor of Greenwich Hospital, Mr. Fox observed, that "the late promotion of Sir Hugh was on a par with the promotion of a man to one of the highest civil employments in the state, who had been publicly degraded last war, and declared incapable of serving again in any military capacity at the head of every regiment in the army." To this direct attack, Lord Germain made no other reply than to remark, with his usual hauteur, "that he *treated it and its author with the contempt they deserved.*"

The extreme unpopularity of the ministers, and particularly Lord Germain, at this period, may be seen from the following passage in Mr. Cumberland's Memoirs, (i. 398):

"The conflict with America now raged at its height; that was a business out of my office to be concerned in, and I willingly pass it over; but it was in my way to know the effects it had upon the anxious spirit of my friend (Lord Germain); and very much it was my wish and my endeavour, by every means in my capacity, to be helpful at those hours, which were necessary for his relaxation, and take to my share as many of the burthensome and vexatious concerns, as; without intrusion upon other people's offices, I could relieve him from. All that I could I did; and as I was daily with him, and never out of call,

I reflect with comfort, there were occasions when my zeal was not unprofitably exerted for his alleviation and repose. I might say more, for these were trying and unquiet times. *It is not a very safe or enviable predicament to be marked out for a known attachment to an unpopular character,* and be continually under arms to turn out and encounter the prejudices of mankind."

It was in the year 1778, by the influence of Lord Germain, that his most intimate friend General Lord Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and made a cabinet-minister, he having two years before been created a peer by the title of Baron Amherst. General Amherst and Lord George Germain had lived on the most intimate terms from childhood. Jeffery Lord Amherst was born within a mile of Knowle Park, Lord George's paternal residence, and it was to Lionel Duke of Dorset that he owed his first appointment in the army. When the Duke was Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and his son Lord George was his secretary, Lord Amherst formed part of the household. As an instance of the great intimacy subsisting between the two families, it is to be observed, that Lord Amherst's eldest brother was named *Sackville* Amherst.

The friendship evinced by Junius for General Sir Jeffery Amherst on all occasions, the zeal he displayed in avenging his wrongs, and the intimate knowledge he shews of the General's services and character, have already been pointed out, and must be obvious to the most careless reader of his Letters.

Shortly after the surrender of General Burgoyne, the French entered into an alliance with the Americans, offensive and defensive; and on the delivery of the Spanish

rescript, by which war was declared by that nation against Great Britain, in June 1779, it is said his Majesty ordered all his cabinet-ministers to attend him at the Queen's Palace. They were shewn into the library, where there was a long table, and chairs for every minister, and an arm-chair at the top for the King. When they were all seated, his Majesty made a long speech to his ministers. He began with expressing his regard for Mr. Grenville, and his concern for his loss, and afterwards declared his resolution to carry on the war against America, France, and Spain; and if they approved of it, he gave them an assurance of his firmest support. The ministers all acknowledged their perfect devotion to his Majesty's commands.

About two years afterwards, an event occurred which first caused the dismissal of Lord Germain from the ministry, and ultimately the retirement of Lord North himself, and was the virtual termination of the war; this was the surrender, on the 19th of October 1781, of Lord Cornwallis and the whole of his army at York Town in Virginia.

"During the whole month of November 1781," says Sir N. Wraxall, "the concurrent accounts transmitted to government, enumerating Lord Cornwallis's embarrassments, and the positions taken by the enemy, augmented the anxiety of the Cabinet. Lord George Germain, in particular, conscious that in the prosperous or adverse termination of that expedition must hinge the fate of the American contest, his own stay in office, as well as probably the duration of the ministry itself, felt, and even expressed to his friends, the strongest uneasiness on the subject. The meeting of parliament, meanwhile, stood

for the 27th of November. On Sunday the 25th, about noon, official intelligence of the surrender of the British forces at York Town, arrived from Falmouth, at Lord Germain's house in Pall Mall. Lord Walsingham, who previous to his father Sir William De Grey's elevation to the peerage, had been under-secretary of state in that department, and who was selected to second the address in the House of Peers, on the subsequent Tuesday, happened to be there when the messenger brought the news. Without communicating it to any other person, Lord George, for the purpose of dispatch, immediately got with him into a hackney-coach, and drove to Lord Stormont's residence in Portland Place. Having imparted to him the disastrous intelligence, and taken him into the carriage, they instantly proceeded to the Chancellor's house in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, whom they found at home; when, after a short consultation, they determined to lay it themselves, in person, before Lord North. He had not received any intimation of the event, when they arrived at his door in Downing-street, between one and two o'clock. The first Minister's firmness, and even his presence of mind, gave way for a short time, under this awful disaster. I asked Lord George afterwards, how he took the communication when made to him? 'As he would have taken a ball in his breast,' replied Lord George; 'for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment during a few minutes, 'Oh God! it is all over!' Words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the greatest agitation and distress. When the first agitation of his mind had subsided, the four ministers discussed the question, whether or not it might

be expedient to prorogue parliament for a few days; but as scarcely an interval of forty-eight hours remained before the appointed time of assembling, and as many members of both houses were already either arrived in London, or on the road, that proposition was abandoned. It became, however, indispensable to alter, and almost to model anew, the King's speech, which had been already drawn up and completely prepared for delivery from the throne. This alteration was therefore made without delay; and at the same time, Lord George Germain, as secretary for the American department, sent off a despatch to his Majesty, who was then at Kew, acquainting him with the melancholy termination of Lord Cornwallis's expedition. Some hours having elapsed before these different, but necessary acts of business, could take place, the members separated, and Lord George Germain repaired to his office in Whitehall. There he found a confirmation of the intelligence, which arrived about two hours after the first communication, having been transmitted from Dover, to which place it was forwarded from Calais, with the French account of the same event.

“ I dined that day at Lord George's; and though the information, which had reached London in the course of the morning from two different quarters, was of a nature not to admit of long concealment, yet, it had not been communicated either to me, or to any individual of the company, as it might naturally have been, through the channel of common report, when I got to Pall Mall, between five and six o'clock. Lord Walsingham, who also dined there, was the only person present, except Lord George, acquainted with the fact. The party, nine in number, sat down to table. I thought the master of the

house appeared serious, though he manifested no discomposure. Before the dinner was finished, one of the servants delivered him a letter, brought back by the messenger who had been dispatched to the King. Lord George opened and perused it, then looking at Lord Walsingham, to whom he exclusively directed his observation, 'the King writes,' said he, 'just as he always does, except that I observe he has omitted to mark the hour and minute of his writing with his usual precision.' This remark, though calculated to awaken some interest, excited no comment; and while the ladies, Lord George's three daughters, remained in the room, we repressed our curiosity. But they had no sooner withdrawn, than Lord George having acquainted us that, from Paris, information had just arrived of the old Count de Maurepas, first minister, lying at the point of death. 'It would grieve me,' said I, 'to finish my career, however far advanced in years, were I first minister of France, before I had witnessed the termination of this great contest between England and America.' 'He has survived to see that event,' replied Lord George with some agitation. Utterly unsuspecting of the fact which had happened beyond the Atlantic, I conceived him to allude to the undecisive naval action, fought at the mouth of the Chesapeake, early in the preceding month of September, between Admiral Graves and Count de Grasse, which, in its results, might prove most injurious to Lord Cornwallis. Under this impression, 'My meaning,' said I, 'is, that if I were the Count de Maurepas, I should wish to live long enough to behold the final issue of the war in Virginia.' 'He has survived to witness it completely,' answered Lord George; 'the army has surrendered, and you may peruse the particulars

of the capitulation in that paper;' taking, at the same time, one from his pocket, which he delivered into my hand, not without visible emotion. By his permission I read it aloud, while the company listened in profound silence. We then discussed its contents, as affecting the country, the ministers, and the war. It must be confessed they were calculated to diffuse a gloom over the most convivial society, and that they opened a wide field for political speculation. After perusing the contents of Lord Cornwallis's surrender at York Town, it was impossible for all present not to feel a lively curiosity to know how the King had received the intelligence, as well as how he had expressed himself in his note to Lord George Germain, on the first communication of so painful an event. He gratified our wish by reading it to us, observing at the same time, that it did the highest honour to his Majesty's fortitude, firmness, and consistency of character. The words made an impression on my memory, which the lapse of more than thirty years has not erased, and I shall here commemorate its tenor, as serving to shew how that Prince felt and wrote, under one of the most afflicting, as well as humiliating, occurrences of his reign. The billet ran nearly to this effect. 'I have received with sentiments of the deepest concern, the communication which Lord George Germain has made to me, of the unfortunate result of the operations in Virginia. I particularly lament it, on account of the consequences connected with it, and the difficulties which it may produce in carrying on the public business, or in repairing such a misfortune. But I trust that neither Lord George Germain, nor any member of the cabinet, will suppose, that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of my conduct, which have

directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest.' Not a sentiment of despondency nor of despair was to be found in the letter; the very handwriting of which indicated composure of mind. Whatever opinion we may entertain relative to the practicability of reducing America to obedience by force of arms at the end of 1781, we must admit that no sovereign could manifest more calmness, dignity, or self-command, than George the Third displayed in his reply."

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army* caused the ministry to quarrel among themselves. They first laid the cause of this disaster upon each other; but at length settled it upon only two persons: namely, Lord Sandwich and Lord Germain. Those who laid the blame upon Lord Sandwich, contended that the misfortune was owing to the not having sufficient naval force on the American station. The other party contended that the misfortune was owing to Lord Germain's plan of operations. It is not necessary to state the facts upon which these two opinions were founded. They have been published by Lord Cornwallis and Sir Henry Clinton, in vindication of themselves. The contention upon the question, whether the Secretary of State, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, should be removed, lasted some time.

It was in this divided state of the ministry that parliament met, and on the first day of the session it was obvious to every one that the dispute was not settled. In the debate on the address, Lord George Germain said, "that his opinion was, notwithstanding the surrender of Lord

* Almon's Anecdotes, ii. 135.

Cornwallis, that if Great Britain gave up the sovereignty of America, we were undone." Mr. Dundas, Lord-advocate of Scotland, contradicted and reprobated this opinion severely; and Mr. Rigby, who was Paymaster, bluntly said, "we were beaten, and must therefore give up the plan of the war." When parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays, the dispute continued open.

It is certain that when Lord George Germain delivered his opinion, he thought he delivered the opinion of a much greater authority than his own. But he was not entrusted with the *real secret*. There were other persons who were honoured with a larger share of confidence than he was at this time; and this party triumphed. They resolved to remove Lord George Germain from office, and to recall Sir Henry Clinton, who had requested it; and to make one measure the consequence of the other, although there was no connexion between the two cases; but in order to make a connexion between them, they applied to Sir Guy Carleton to succeed Sir Henry Clinton, being perfectly well assured that Sir Guy Carleton would never go to America, while Lord George Germain continued secretary of state for the American department. The manœuvre succeeded. Sir Guy Carleton wrote a letter to the Lord Chancellor (Lord Thurlow), saying, in substance, that he could not accept the command under the American secretary. The Lord Chancellor carried this letter into the closet. On Wednesday, the 2nd of January 1782, previously to the levee, there was a meeting of ministers, attended by Lords Mansfield, Hillsborough, Stormont, and North, and Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), when it was finally decided to remove Lord Germain. When Lord George was informed that

his fate was decided, he desired leave to resign, which was allowed him; and to lighten his fall, he was created an English peer. Accordingly, early in the month of February 1782, Lord Germain resigned the seals of his office into the king's hands, and received in recompense for his services the honour of the peerage. The separation between the sovereign and the secretary, was not unaccompanied with emotion on either side. The circumstance attending his elevation is thus related by Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, who received his information from the mouth of Lord George the same day it occurred. "The king, after regretting the unfortunate events that had dictated the measure, and thanking Lord George for his services, added; 'Is there any thing I can do to express my sense of them, which would be agreeable to you?' 'Sir,' answered he, 'if your Majesty is pleased to raise me to the dignity of the peerage, it will form at once the best reward to which I can aspire, and the best proof of your approbation of my past exertions in your affairs.' 'By all means,' said the king: 'I think it very proper, and shall do it with pleasure.' 'Then, Sir,' rejoined Lord George, 'if you agree to my first request, I hope you will not think it unbecoming or unreasonable in me, to ask another favour. It is to create me a *Viscount*, as, should I be only raised to the dignity of a *Baron*, my own secretary, my lawyer, and my father's page, will all take rank of me.' The king expressing a wish to know the names of the persons to whom he alluded; 'The first,' replied Lord George, 'is Lord Walsingham, who, as your majesty knows, was long under-secretary of state in my office, when Mr. De Grey. The second is Lord Loughborough, who has always been my legal adviser. Lord

Amherst is the third, who when page to my father, the late Duke of Dorset, has often sat on the braces of the state coach that conveyed him, as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to the parliament-house at Dublin.' The king smiled, adding, 'What you say is very reasonable; it shall be so; and now let me know the title that you choose.' 'I have already, Sir,' answered Lord George, 'in the possible anticipation of your majesty's gracious disposition towards me, spoken to the Duke of Dorset, and obtained his permission as the head of my family, to take the title of SACKVILLE; having been compelled to renounce my own name, in order to avail myself of the bequest of the estate of Drayton in Northamptonshire, made me by Lady Betty Germain in her will, I shall therefore in some degree recover it by this means.' 'I quite approve of that idea," replied his majesty, 'and if you will state to me your title, I will write it down myself before we part, and send it directly to the Chancellor.' The king immediately placed himself at a table, took the pen and ink lying upon it, and having committed the *Viscounty* to paper, asked him what *Barony* he chose? Lord George answered, 'that of Bolebrook in Sussex, being one of the most ancient estates belonging to the family, and contiguous to Buckhurst, the original peerage conferred by Queen Elizabeth on his ancestor, the first Earl of Dorset.' When the king had copied it, he rose up, and with the most condescending expressions of concern, as well as satisfaction, allowed Lord George to withdraw from the closet." The extraordinary opposition made by certain peers to Lord Sackville's entrance into the Upper House, has been related in a former chapter. It will be remarked that the reason given by

Lord George for wishing to be made a viscount was, that if he were created only a baron, his *secretary*, Lord *Walsingham*, his lawyer, Lord *Loughborough*, and his father's page, Lord *Amherst*, would take precedence of him. Probably it may be thought singular, that the author of *Junius* should have formed any connexions with the two first-mentioned noblemen. For the father of Lord *Walsingham*, while he was Mr. De Grey and Attorney-general, conducted the prosecution against *Woodfall* for publishing the celebrated Letter to the King. *Junius*, however, appears to have regarded him with sentiments of respect, for in his preface, he mentions Mr. De Grey's mode of conducting the trial in the following terms:—"My Lord Chief Justice De Grey, who filed the information *ex officio*, is directly with *Junius*. If he had concurred with Lord Mansfield's doctrine, the trial must have been a very short one; the facts were either admitted by *Woodfall's* counsel, or easily proved to the satisfaction of the jury. But Mr. De Grey, far from thinking he should acquit himself of his duty by barely proving the facts, entered largely and *not without ability*, into the demerits of the paper which he called a seditious libel. The criminal intent, the libellous matter, the pernicious tendency of the paper itself, were the topics on which he principally insisted, and of which for more than half an hour, he tortured his faculties to convince the jury. If he agreed in opinion with Lord Mansfield, his discourse was impertinent, ridiculous, and unreasonable. But understanding the law as *Junius* does, what he said was at least consistent, and to the purpose."

Lord Germain probably found Mr. De Grey acting

as under-secretary when he became secretary of state, and therefore, did no more than continue an efficient officer, whose services he could not well dispense with.

Mr. Wedderburne, it must be admitted, is never mentioned by Junius but in terms of contempt and hatred; still we think Lord Germain's connexion with this learned gentleman is by no means irreconcilable with the hypothesis of his being Junius, for it cannot be considered anything uncommon for a discreet man to consult the most eminent lawyers of his time respecting his private affairs, without reference to their political principles, and we are inclined to think, that Junius was in the habit of treating with asperity many individuals with whom he lived on terms of intimacy, and apparent friendship, and that such unwarrantable conduct was one of the principal reasons of his intense anxiety to preserve his secret inviolable.

Lord North's administration did not continue long after the dismissal of his colleague Lord Germain, for on the 4th of March following, the House of Commons declared, that whosoever should advise his Majesty to any further prosecution of offensive war against the colonies of North America, should be considered as a public enemy. This was the death-blow of Lord North's administration. His Lordship retired from office early in the month of March, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, who dying shortly afterwards, the Earl of Shelburne was called to preside over his Majesty's counsels; under whose auspices provisional articles of peace were signed, on the 30th of November 1782, by which the independence of the thirteen provinces was unreservedly acknowledged by his Britannic Majesty.

During the seven years that Lord Germain was secretary of state, he had principally Charles Fox to contend with, and throughout this long and arduous period it is admitted that he displayed signal ability, particularly in his replies.

“In business,” says Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, “Lord George Germain was clear and accurate, rather negligent in his style, which was that of a gentleman and a man of the world, unstudied and frequently careless, even in his official despatches. But there was no obscurity or ambiguity in his compositions.”

Sir Egerton Brydges, in his notes on Wraxall's Memoirs, observes that, “there was one man who always moved *with an impenetrable cloud around him*—Lord George Germain; but he was an able man, industrious, sagacious, and wise. His extreme gravity and melancholy were a contrast to the lightness and wit of Lord North. Misfortunes sunk deeper into his heart, and he thought of future consequences with more fear and regret; but, I believe, that he had the good of his country in his conscience, and executed his duties with fidelity and skill.”

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE'S

CONNEXION WITH

MR. RICHARD CUMBERLAND

EXAMINED,

WITH ANECDOTES OF HIS LORDSHIP, AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS
LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
Some pious drops the closing eye requires;
E'en from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires.

Gray's Elegy.

Where now 's the Trifler? where the child of Pride?
These are the moments when the heart is tried!
Nor lives the man, with conscience e'er so clear,
But feels a solemn, reverential fear.

Bloomfield.

Can volume, pillar, pile, preserve thee great?
Or must thou trust tradition's simple tongue,
When flattery sleeps with thee, and history does thee wrong?

Byron.

CHAPTER XII.

Remarks on Mr. Richard Cumberland's zealous attachment to Lord Germain.—His situation when Lord Germain became head of the Board of Trade.—His introduction to his new chief.—Extraordinary intimacy between Lord Germain and Mr. Cumberland.—Cumberland's account of his unexpected appointment to the Secretaryship of the Board of Trade.—His character of Lord Germain as a man of business.—Remarkable agreement between this account and Junius's description of his own mental operations.—Surprise of Lord Germain's friends at his intimacy with Mr. Cumberland.—Lord Sackville's mode of life in retirement, with anecdotes of his Lordship.—Proofs of his haughty disposition.—His condescension to inferiors shewn not to be inconsistent with his real character.—Mr. Cumberland's gratitude to his patron.—His disbelief that he had any connexion with Junius.—The suspicion mentioned by his Lordship in his last illness.—Probable motives for making the communication.—The *real bond of union* between Lord Sackville and Mr. Cumberland explained.—His Lordship's last conversation with Mr. Cumberland on the affair of Minden.—Instances of Junius's extraordinary malignity against Lord Mansfield.—Mr. Cumberland's account of the mysterious interview between Lord Mansfield and Lord Sackville, when the latter was at the point of death.—The conduct of the parties inexplicable on any other assumption than that of Lord Sackville's being Junius.—Mr. Cumberland's description of his last hours.—His death.—His Lordship's personal appearance and character.—The objections to the hypothesis of Lord Sackville's being Junius stated, and answered.—Proofs that his handwriting was similar to that of Junius.—Lord Sackville proved to have all the characteristics of Junius enumerated by Mr. Butler and Dr. Good.

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE.

Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which THE HERO should preserve *his consistency* to the last.

Junius to the Duke of Bedford.

WE now approach the last stage of Lord Sackville's eventful life, and find in the Memoirs of Mr. Richard Cumberland another torch, whose clear light will guide us through the remainder of his gloomy career. Even those who do not concur with Mr. Cumberland in thinking his patron was "an ill-used and much-injured man," must admire the honest zeal with which he defends and vindicates the memory of his benefactor. He has eminently succeeded in investing his narrative of the transactions that took place during the last days of Lord Sackville with a deep and melancholy interest, by the touching nature of the incidents described, the sympathy shewn for the sufferings of his friend, and the heartfelt gratitude expressed for favours received at his hand—all this proves the sincerity of Mr. Cumberland's attachment to Lord Sackville, and imparts additional value to his testimony—indeed, so tenacious is Mr. Cumberland of his Lordship's honour, that we much doubt whether his narrative would ever have been published, if the writer could have foreseen, that it would furnish evidence to

identify his Lordship with the Author of the Letters of Junius ; such however is the contracted ken of mortals, that we often become the unconscious instruments of effecting what we least desire ; and by such unexpected means (for we deem it improper to term them accidents) are crimes, and deviations from the path of rectitude, frequently brought to light.

It appears that Mr. Cumberland, to use his own words, "was a subaltern in the Board of Trade, uncomfortably executing the office of Clerk of the Reports, when by the accession of Lord George Germain to the seals of the colonial department, he had a new principal to look up to." Before this period, he was an entire stranger to Lord Germain, and thus describes his introduction to his Lordship: "When Lord George had taken the seals, I asked my friend Colonel James Cunningham to take me with him to Pall Mall ; which he did, and the ceremony of paying my respects was soon dismissed. I confess I thought my new chief was quite as cold in manner as a minister need be, and rather more so than my intermediate friend had given me reason to expect."

Here we have to note, that *Colonel James Cunningham*, to whom Mr. Cumberland was indebted for his formal introduction to Lord Germain, was not only one of his Lordship's intimate friends ; but is the same officer mentioned by Junius in his account of the "infamous transaction" about appointing Colonel Luttrell adjutant-general in Ireland, which we have before cited (p. 75). And as Colonel Cunningham alone appears to advantage in that obscure and complicated military intrigue, and Junius was fully acquainted with all its ramifications, the probability is, that he derived his information from

Cunningham himself: and thus we have another strong and independent proof, of the identity of Junius with Lord George.

The notice taken of the affair by Junius, had such an effect upon the ministry, that Colonel Luttrell was obliged to resign a few days afterwards, and Cunningham was again reinstated in his situation of adjutant-general in Ireland.

Shortly after this unpromising introduction, we find Lord George and Mr. Cumberland on terms of the closest friendship, without any apparent reason for the unusual intimacy between persons moving in such different spheres of life. We are told of the proud and aristocratic principal, inviting his subaltern to his country seat, and soon afterwards appointing him secretary to the Board of Trade.

“One day,” says Mr. Cumberland, “as Lord George was leaving the office, he stopped me on the outside of the door, at the head of the stairs, and invited me to pass some days with him and his family at Stoneland, near Tunbridge Wells. It was on my part so unexpected, that I *doubted if I had rightly understood him*, as he had spoken in a low and subdued voice, as his manner was, and I consulted *his confidential secretary Mr. D'Oyly*, whether he would advise me to the journey. He told me that he knew the house was filled from top to bottom with a large party, that he was sure there would be no room for me, and *dissuaded me* from the undertaking. I did not quite follow his advice by neglecting to present myself, but resolved to secure my retreat to Tunbridge Wells, and kept my chaise in waiting to make good my quarters. When I arrived at Stoneland, I was met at

the door by Lord George, who soon discovered the precaution I had taken, and himself conducted me to my bed-chamber, told me it had been reserved for me, and ever after would be set apart as mine, where he hoped I would consent to find myself at home. This was the man I had esteemed so cold, and thus was I at once introduced to the commencement of a friendship, which day by day improved, and which no one word or action of his life to come, ever for an instant interrupted or diminished. Shortly after this, it came to his knowledge that there had been a treaty between Mr. Pownall and me, for his resignation of the place of secretary, and he asked me what had passed; I told him how it stood, and what the conditions were that my superior in office expected for the accommodation. I had not yet mentioned this to him, and probably never should. He said he would take it into his own hands, and in a few days signified the King's pleasure that Mr. Pownall's resignation was accepted, and that I should succeed him as secretary in clear and full enjoyment of the place, *without any compensation whatsoever*. Thus was I, beyond all hope, and without a word said to me that could lead me to expect a favour of that sort, *promoted by surprise to a very advantageous and desirable situation*. I came to my office at the hour appointed, not dreaming of such an event, and took my seat at the adjoining table, when Mr. Pownall being called out of the room, Lord George turned round to me and bade me take his chair at the bottom of the table, announcing to the Board his Majesty's commands, as above recited, *with a positive prohibition of all stipulations*. When I had endeavoured to express myself as properly on the occasion, as my agitated state

of spirits would allow of, I remember Lord George made answer, "that if I was as well pleased upon receiving his Majesty's commands, as he was in being the bearer of them, I was indeed very happy." If I served him truly, honestly, and ardently ever after, till I followed him to the grave, where is my merit? How could I do otherwise?"—*Cumberland's Memoirs*, i. 393.

The plain English of Mr. Cumberland's statement seems to be, that Lord George dismissed Mr. Pownall from his situation of secretary to the Board of Trade, and appointed Mr. Cumberland to his place, without his paying any *consideration* to Mr. Pownall for the accommodation, which it appears he was willing to do. This arrangement was no doubt *very satisfactory* to Mr. Cumberland, and as we are not told that Mr. Pownall made any complaint, the probability is, that he received compensation *from the public* in the shape of a retiring pension—but however this might be, it is quite clear that *the job* was so managed as to confer a great boon on Mr. Cumberland, for he says, "I had four sons at Westminster school, boarding at one house, and my two daughters coming into the world, so that the accession to my circumstances, which my promotion in office gave me, *put me greatly at my ease*, and enabled me to press their education with advantage."

When Lord George entered upon the duties of his new office, Mr. Cumberland soon discovered his Lordship's superiority in point of talents over his predecessor Lord Clare, and gives the following account of his straightforward and able mode of transacting his official business:—"A very short time sufficed to confirm the idea I had entertained of Lord George's character for

decision and dispatch in business: there was at once an end of all circumlocutory reports and inefficient forms, that only impeded business, and substituted ambiguity for precision; there was (as William Gerard Hamilton, speaking of Lord George, truly observed to me) *no trash in his mind;—he studied no choice phrases, no superfluous words, nor ever suffered the clearness of his conceptions to be clouded by the obscurity of his expressions*, for these were the simplest and most unequivocal that could be made use of for explaining his opinions, or dictating his instructions. In the mean while he was so momentarily punctual to his time, so religiously observant of his engagements, that we, who served under him in office, felt the sweets of the exchange we had so lately made in the person of our chief.”

Here we find Lord George praised for that clearness of expression, and terse, and condensed style, so remarkable in Junius; and Mr. Cumberland’s account will be found to correspond precisely with Junius’s own description of his mental operations, in rejecting and casting off all those extraneous accessories that embarrass men of ordinary capacity, and coincides with the direct and determined manner in which Junius at once proceeds to the very heart and core of any subject under his investigation, as described in a letter written by Junius, under the signature of ‘*Amicus Curiae*,’ and dated 10th of June 1769, in which he says:—

“ I am an old reader of political controversy. I remember the great Walpolean battles; and am not a little diverted with the combats of party at this time. They are still carried on with ability and vigour. Long habit has taught me to pass by all the declamation with

which the champions parade. I look upon it as no better than those flourishes of the backsword with which the great masters of my time in the amphitheatre entertained the spectators, merely to shew their dexterity, but which made no part of the real engagement. I regard as nothing the trappings of panegyric with which they decorate their friends. I entirely overlook the dirt with which they so very liberally bespatter their enemies. Whenever a *fact* is touched upon, there I fix. When a *distinct charge* is made upon a minister, I look for a *distinct and particular answer*, that denies, or admitting, explains, or in some favourable manner accounts for the fact charged. If, instead of this, I find nothing more than a long paper, in which the author of the charge is called a thousand names, and the person accused is lifted up to the skies as a miracle of ability and virtue, I am obliged, as an equitable judge, to consider the cause not as defended, but as utterly abandoned; and the Court must enter an admission, by his own advocates, of the charge against him."

The above paragraph is further remarkable as tending in other respects to establish the claim of Lord George, as it proves that Junius must have passed the meridian of life; for the Walpolean battles ceased in 1741, when Sir Robert Walpole was driven from power. At that time Lord George was not a member of parliament, and therefore he says, "I am *an old reader* of political controversy." The allusion also to the gladiatorial exhibitions of former times,* with which Junius appears to have

* A very curious account of these gladiatorial exhibitions, which were superseded in this country by the modern *science* of boxing, will be found in the Spectator (vol. vi., No. 436).

been quite familiar, was more likely to proceed from the pen of a cavalry officer than a civilian.

Lord Germain's extraordinary partiality for Mr. Cumberland's society appears to have been particularly noticed by some of his Lordship's friends; for Mr. Cumberland adds: "Here I hope to be forgiven if I record an answer of Lord George Germain's to *an officious gentleman*, who upon some reference to me in his concerns, expressed himself with surprise at the degree of influence which I appeared to have. 'You are very right,' replied my friend; 'that gentleman has a great deal to do with me and my affairs, and if you can find any other to take his place as disinterestedly attached to me, and as capable of serving me, I am confident he will hold himself very highly obliged to you for relieving him from a burden that brings him neither profit nor advantage, and only subjects him to such remarks as you have now been making.'"

Whether Mr. Cumberland merited this compliment for his "disinterested attachment" to his Lordship, the reader will form his own opinion from Mr. Cumberland's preceding statement; but we shall presently find, that Lord Germain had a *more private and particular reason* for the kindness and patronage bestowed by him on his protégé, which continued unabated to the time of his Lordship's death.

From the period of Lord George's quitting office and being called to the House of Peers, he lived in a retired manner, occasionally at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, or at Bolebrook, near Tunbridge Wells, but principally at his beautiful mansion Stoneland Park, in Sussex. Here, away from the bustle of public life and the cavils

of party, he passed the remainder of his days in peace and retirement.

From Mr. Cumberland's Memoirs we collect many interesting particulars of his Lordship's domestic life and habits in his latter days, which will be found to agree with the conclusions drawn by Dr. Good, that the author of Junius was "strict in his moral conduct and in his attention to public decorum, and an avowed member of the established church." "I now foresaw," says Mr. Cumberland, "the coming on of an event that must inevitably deprive me of one of the greatest comforts which still adhered to me in my decline of fortune. It was too evident that the constitution of Lord Sackville, long harassed by the painful visitation of that dreadful malady the stone, was decidedly giving way. There was in him so generous a repugnance against troubling his friends with any complaints, that it was from external evidence only, never from confession, that his sufferings could be guessed at. Attacks that would have confined most people to their beds, never moved him from his accustomed punctuality. It was curious, and probably in some men's eyes would, from its extreme precision, have appeared ridiculously minute and formal; yet in the movements of a domestic establishment so large as his, it had its uses and comforts, which his guests and family could not fail to partake of. As sure as the hand of the clock pointed to the half-hour after nine, neither a minute before nor a minute after, so sure did the good lord of the castle step into his breakfast-room, accoutred at all points according to his own invariable costume, with a complacent countenance, that prefaced his good morning to each person there assembled; and now,

whilst I recall those scenes to my remembrance, I feel gratified by the reflection, that I never passed a night beneath his roof, but that his morning's salutation met me at my post. He allowed an hour-and-a-half for breakfast, and regularly at eleven took his morning's circuit on horseback, at a foot's pace; for his infirmity would not admit of any strong gestation. He had an old groom, who had grown grey in his service, that was his constant pilot upon these excursions; and his general custom was to make the tour of his cottages, to reconnoitre the condition they were in,—whether their roofs were in repair, their windows whole, and their gardens well cropped and neatly kept. All this it was their interest to be attentive to, for he bought the produce of their fruit trees; and I have heard him say with great satisfaction, that he has paid thirty shillings in a season for strawberries only to a poor cottager, who paid him one shilling annual rent for his tenement and garden. This was the constant rate at which he let them to his labourers; and he made them pay it to his steward at his yearly audit, that they might feel themselves in the class of regular tenants, and sit down at table to the good cheer provided for them on the audit day. He never rode out without preparing himself with a store of sixpences in his waistcoat-pocket for the children of the poor, who opened gates and drew out sliding bars for him in his passage through the inclosures. These barriers were well watched, and there was rarely any employment for a servant. But these sixpences were not indiscriminately bestowed; for as he kept a charity school upon his own endowment, he knew to whom he gave them, and generally held a short parley with the gate-

opener as he paid his toll for passing. Upon the very first report of illness or accident, relief was instantly sent, and they were put on the sick list, regularly visited, and constantly supplied with the best medicines, administered upon the best advice. If the poor man lost his cow or his pig or his poultry, the loss was never made up in money, but in stock. It was his custom to buy the cast-off liveries of his own servants as constantly as the day of clothing came about, and these he distributed to the old and worn-out labourers, who turned out daily on the lawn and paddock in the Sackville livery to pick up boughs and sweep up leaves, and in short do just as much work as served to keep them wholesome and alive.

“To his religious duties this good man was not only regularly, but respectfully attentive. On the Sunday morning he appeared in gala, as if he was dressed for a drawing-room; he marched out his whole family in grand cavalcade to his parish church, leaving only a sentinel to watch the fires at home, and mount guard upon the spits. His deportment in the House of Prayer was exemplary, and more in character of times past than of time present. He had a way of standing up in sermon time, for the purpose of reviewing the congregation, and awing the idlers into decorum, that never failed to remind me of Sir Roger de Coverley at church. Sometimes, when he has been struck with passages in the discourse which he wished to point out to the audience as rules for moral practice worthy to be noticed, he would mark his approbation of them with such cheering nods and signals of assent to the preacher, as were often more than my muscles could withstand; but when to the total

overthrow of all gravity, in his zeal to encourage the efforts of a very young declaimer in the pulpit, I heard him cry out to the Reverend Mr. Henry Eatoff in the middle of his sermon,—‘Well done, Harry!’—it was irresistible; suppression was out of my power: what made it more intolerably comic was, the unmoved sincerity of his manner, and his surprise to find that any thing had passed, that could provoke a laugh so out of time and place. He had nursed up with no small care and cost in each of his parish churches a corps of rustic psalm-singers, to whose performances he paid the greatest attention, rising up, and with his eyes directed to the singing-gallery, marking time, which was not always rigidly adhered to; and once, when his ear, which was very correct, had been tortured by a tone most glaringly discordant, he set his mark upon the culprit by calling out to him by name, and loudly saying, ‘Out of tune, Tom Baker!’ Now this faulty musician Tom Baker, happened to be his Lordship’s butcher, but then in order to set names and trades upon a par, Tom Butcher was his Lordship’s baker; which I observed to him was much such a reconciliation of cross partners as my illustrious friend George Faulkner hit upon, when in his *Dublin Journal* he printed—‘Erratum in our last—For his Grace the Duchess of Dorset, read her Grace the Duke of Dorset.’ I relate these little anecdotes of a man, whose character had nothing little in it, that I may shew him to my readers in his private scenes, and be as far as I am able the intimate and true transcriber of his heart.”—*Cumberland’s Memoirs*, ii. 237.

The lofty hauteur and sovereign contempt, with which Junius treats all his opponents, is another of his principal

characteristics, and that Lord Sackville was of a proud and haughty disposition is clear from the concurring testimony of all his contemporaries. We have before mentioned the elaborate and singular defence which Mr. Almon makes in answer to this charge, and find also Lord Orford, when speaking of Lord Granby, remarking that "Lord George's *haughtiness* lost this young man, as he had the Duke of Marlborough." Mr. Butler too says, he recollects Lord George was considered "*eminently aristocratic.*" Wilkes, in one of his Letters to his daughter, tells her—"I have been this morning at the meeting of the commissioners for new paving Westminster, Lord George Germain *looked very stately.*"

Like many other proud men, Lord Sackville appears to have been kind and benevolent to his *inferiors*—where no opposition was offered to his sovereign will—when all pretension to equality was out of the question—when "the toe of the peasant did not approach too near the heel of the courtier," and nothing came "between the wind and his nobility," he was all affability and condescension. His kindness to Mr. Cumberland for a long series of years was most remarkable, and it appears from the following anecdote, that his benevolence extended below Mr. Cumberland's sphere of life; and that his domestics felt the comfort of living with him rather as humble friends than as menial servants. His Lordship one day on entering his house in Pall Mall, observed a large basket of vegetables standing in the hall, and inquired of the porter to whom they belonged, and from whence they came? Old John immediately replied, "they are *ours* my lord, from *our* country house. "Very well," rejoined the peer. At that instant a car-

riage stopped at the door, and Lord George turning round, asked what coach it was? "*Ours*," said honest John. "And are the children in it *ours* too?" said his lordship, laughing. "Most certainly, my lord," replied John, with the utmost gravity, and immediately ran to lift them out.

It must not however be concluded, that these instances of a kind and benevolent disposition are sufficient to outweigh the mass of facts, and strong chain of circumstantial evidence, which have been adduced to prove him the author of compositions fraught with so much malignity as the Letters of Junius. Man, in his best state, is an anomalous being—a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, dignity and meanness. Heroes, who have not scrupled to sacrifice without pity or remorse, tens of thousands of their fellow-mortals on the altars of Moloch, have been known to exhibit symptoms of sensibility on accidentally beholding a single individual in imminent danger. Those who have searched deepest into the recesses of the human heart tell us, that there is a propensity in our nature to lull "the still small voice of conscience," and to atone for *secret* transgressions by *illusive* acts of penitence; and it should seem that men of the highest order of intellect are most prone to this self-delusion, for Dr. Johnson confessed, a short time before his death, that for an act of disobedience to his father caused by pride, he went in advanced age to Uttoxeter in very bad weather, and stood for a considerable time bareheaded during a heavy rain in the market-place. "In contrition," says the great moralist, "I stood, and I hope the penance was expiatory;" and it is recorded of Eugene Aram, that he endeavoured to atone for his foul

crime, and to conciliate the esteem of mankind, by a tender regard for the welfare of worms and reptiles.

Mr. Cumberland proved the sincerity of his gratitude by attending his patron with much assiduity and kindness during his last illness, and was present when he expired; and it is from his account of various conversations and incidents that occurred during this illness, that we may extract evidence,—unintentional and indirect certainly, but for that very reason the more valuable and decisive, to prove that this nobleman was the author of the Letters of Junius.

“I never heard,” says Mr. Cumberland, “that my friend Lord George was amongst the suspected authors of Junius, till by way of *jest* he told me so *not many days before his death*. I did not want him to disavow it, for there could be no occasion to disprove an impossibility;” and then he goes on to give that opinion of Junius which we have stated in our first chapter.

Now, as Lord Sackville was quite sensible that he was *in extremis* when he made this communication, and in all other respects seems to have been preparing for the last solemn change, with that seriousness and composure of mind befitting his situation, it is not a little extraordinary that he should *jest* on this particular subject. Is it not more probable that the great mystery of his life was then struggling for vent in his perturbed breast? and that he was seeking that relief, which a disclosure of the oppressive secret would afford to the firmest mind in such an awful moment?

If such were his intention, Cumberland’s blunt and honest avowal of his sentiments respecting Junius, was not calculated to encourage his Lordship to unbosom

himself, and accordingly the subject appears to have dropped; but from what passed, we gain a knowledge of this important fact, that even then, Lord Sackville did *not disavow* the imputed authorship.

From the same authentic source of information we learn, that the disgraceful sentence of the Court-martial rankled in his Lordship's breast to the latest hour of his existence, and was almost the last topic of discussion which he held with Cumberland.

Here too, we have disclosed to us *the real bond of union and sympathy between Lord Sackville and Mr. Cumberland*. It appears that Cumberland had attended his Lordship's trial through the whole of the process, and regularly reported what occurred to the celebrated Bub Dodington, who was then out of town, and from what Cumberland heard and observed on that occasion, he formed a *favourable opinion* of his Lordship's case.

This at once explains the cause of Lord Sackville's kindness and patronage to Mr. Cumberland. He thereby attached to himself a *humble friend*, who was ever ready to aid him in "fighting his battles o'er again," and to condole and sympathize with him on the all-absorbing subject of his misfortunes and wrongs.

As Mr. Cumberland's account of this interesting conversation cannot be curtailed without injury, we shall give it entire, in his own words:—

"I well remember the evening being most serene and lovely, we seated ourselves in the chairs, that were placed out upon the garden grass-plat, which looks towards Crowthorne and the forest. Our conversation led us *to the affair of Minden*; my friend most evidently courted the discussion. I told him I had diligently attended the whole process of

the trial, and that I had detailed it to Mr. Dodington ; I had consequently a pretty correct remembrance of the leading circumstances as they came out upon the evidence. But I observed to him that it was not upon the questions and proceedings agitated at that court, that I could perfect my opinion of the case; there must probably be a chain of leading causes, which, though they could not make a part of his defence in public court, might, if developed, throw such lights on the respective conduct of the parties, as would have led to conclusions different to those which stood upon record. To this he answered, ‘ that my remarks were just: there were certain circumstances antecedent to the action, that should be taken into consideration, and there were certain forbearances posterior to the trial, that should be accounted for. The time was come, when he could have no temptation to disguise and violate the truth, and a much more awful trial was now close at hand, where he must suffer for it if he did. He would talk plainly, temperately, and briefly, to me, as his manner was, provided I would promise him to deal sincerely, and not spare to press him on such points as required explanation. This being premised, he entered upon a detail, which, unless I could give, as taken down from his lips, without the variation of a word, so sacred do I hold the reputation of the dead intrusted to me, and the feelings of the living, whom any error of mine might wound, that I shall forbear to speak of it except in general terms. He appeared to me throughout his whole discourse, like a man who had perfectly dismissed his passions; his colour never changed, his features never indicated embarrassment, his voice was never elevated, and being relieved at times by my questions and remarks, he appeared to

speak without pain, and in the event his mind seemed to be lightened by the discharge. When I compare what he said to me in his last moments (*not two hours before he expired*), with what he stated at this conference, if I did not from my heart, and upon the most entire conviction of my reason and understanding, solemnly acquit that injured man (now gone to his account) of the opprobrious and false imputation deposed against him at his trial, I must either be brutally ignorant, or wilfully obstinate against the truth."—*Memoirs*, ii. 245.

The malignity with which Junius pursued Lord Mansfield is sufficiently notorious from a perusal of his *public* Letters, but it is only from his *private* notes to Woodfall, that we learn the intenseness of his hatred against that great and amiable nobleman. The polished and brilliant Junius does not scruple to apply to his Lordship such coarse and atrocious expressions as these: "We have got the *rascal* down, let us strangle him if it be possible." Again, "I will never rest till I have *destroyed or expelled that wretch*—the fellow truckles already." And we learn from Junius's private letter to Lord Chatham, recently published, that he urged the latter to impeach Lord Mansfield, and move for his commitment to the Tower.

On this subject we beg leave to remark, that the circumstance of Lord Mansfield having always maintained a dignified composure, and never shewn any symptoms of petulance or resentment, under the virulent attacks of Junius, from the press; or the terrible philippics of Lord Chatham, in the House of Lords, speaks trumpet-tongued in favour of the purity of his motives, and the integrity of his conduct. Serene in conscious innocence, his calm and well-regulated mind never lost its equilibrium.

Virtue may be assailed, but never hurt;
 Surprised by unjust force, but not enthralled:
 Yea, even that which mischief meant most harm,
 Shall in the happy trial prove most glory.

Milton.

Lord Mansfield certainly survived *one*, and we believe *both*, of his great antagonists many years, passing the remainder of a long and illustrious life in the tranquillity of a philosophical retirement; possessing his mental faculties unimpaired to the last, and blessed with that peace of conscience, which is the sweetest reward that can be enjoyed in this world, at the close of a virtuous and well-spent life.

Junius has told us in his dedication, that “a death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution;” and the truth of the axiom seems to be strikingly exemplified in the extraordinary interview that took place at the desire of Lord Sackville, in his last moments, with Lord Mansfield, which is described by Mr. Cumberland in so powerful and graphic a manner as to arrest the attention of the most careless reader. We must, therefore, allow Mr. Cumberland to describe the scene in his own language:

“Lord Sackville wished,” says Mr. Cumberland, “to take his last leave of the Earl of Mansfield, then at Tunbridge Wells. I signified this to the Earl, and accompanied him in his chaise to Stoneland; I was present at their interview. Lord Sackville, just dismounted from his horse, came into the room, where we had waited a very few minutes, and staggered as he advanced to reach his hand to his respectable visitor; he drew his breath with palpitating quickness, and if I remember rightly, never rode again; there was a deathlike character in his countenance, that visibly *affected and disturbed* Lord

Mansfield, in a manner that I did not quite expect, for it had more of *horror* in it, than a firm man ought to have shewn, and *less perhaps of other feelings* than a friend, invited to a meeting of that nature, must have discovered, had he *not been frightened from his propriety*.

“As soon as Lord Sackville had recovered his breath, *his visitor remaining silent*, he began by apologizing for the trouble he had given him, and for the unpleasant spectacle he was conscious of exhibiting to him in the condition he was now reduced to; ‘But my good lord,’ he said, ‘though I ought not to have imposed upon you the painful ceremony of paying a last visit to a dying man, yet *so great was my anxiety* to return you my unfeigned thanks for all your goodness to me, all the kind protection you have shewn me through the course of my unprosperous life, that I could not know you was so near to me, and not wish to assure you of the invariable respect I have entertained for your character; and now in *the most serious manner to solicit your forgiveness*, if ever in the fluctuations of politics, or the heats of party, *I have appeared in your eyes at any moment of my life unjust to your great merits, or forgetful of your many favours.*’

“When I record this speech,” says Mr. Cumberland, “I give it to the reader as correct; I do not trust to memory at this distance; I transcribe it—I scorn the paltry trick of writing speeches for any man, whose name is in these Memoirs; or for myself, in whose name these Memoirs shall go forth respectable, at least for their veracity; for I certainly cannot wish to present myself to the world in two such opposite and incoherent characters, as the writer of my own history and the hero of a fiction. Lord Mansfield made a reply *perfectly becoming*

and highly satisfactory; he was far on in years, and not in sanguine health, or a strong state of nerves: there was no immediate reason to continue the discourse; Lord Sackville did not press for it; his visitor departed, and I staid with him. He made no other observation upon what had passed, than that it was extremely obliging in Lord Mansfield, and then turned to other subjects.” —*Cumberland’s Memoirs*, ii. 249.

On any other assumption than that of Lord Sackville being the Author of the Letters of Junius, this affecting and mysterious meeting seems quite inexplicable, when we take into account all the attending circumstances. The hasty summons sent by a man tottering on the brink of eternity,—the promptness with which that summons was obeyed,—the solemnity of the meeting,—the evident embarrassment of the parties,—the nothingness of the result!

To send express for Lord Mansfield to solicit his forgiveness, if ever Lord Sackville had appeared in Lord Mansfield’s eyes *unjust to his great merits, or forgetful of his many favours*,—really seems more like one of those solemn sneers, or cutting gibes, which the Chief Justice had been accustomed to receive from Junius, than the last mournful farewell of an ancient friend, or the frank acknowledgment of a generous political opponent: considering, however, Lord Sackville’s state, it is not only more charitable, but more in accordance with probability to conclude, that the meeting was sought by him with a sincere intention of making a full confession to Lord Mansfield, and to solicit the forgiveness of a man he had so deeply injured in the assumed character of Junius;—but when the decisive moment arrived, either

Lord Sackville's spirit sunk within him, or his pride revolted at the fancied humiliation of a particular confession, and he compromised the matter with his conscience by making the general acknowledgment recorded by Mr. Cumberland.

It is evident that the demeanour of the parties towards each other made a profound impression on the mind of Mr. Cumberland, although, from his being unacquainted with the important secret, he could do little more than look on in mute amazement. He may therefore be excused for having drawn erroneous conclusions respecting the *motives* which he supposed influenced Lord Mansfield's deportment at the interview: but this does not in the least affect the truth of his observation, that Lord Mansfield was "*frightened from his propriety.*" If the parties *understood each other* (which is by no means improbable), his Lordship's look of "*horror,*" will not astonish us so much as it did the only witness to the interview.

The following is Mr. Cumberland's description of the last hours of his friend; in which it will be observed, that even at the closing scene, dark allusions are made to some ancient and inveterate feud, which engrossed the thoughts of the dying noble; and that all vindictive feelings were not finally extinguished until the last gasp of exhausted and expiring nature.

"He allowed me," continues Mr. Cumberland, "to call in Sir Francis Millman, then practising at Tonbridge Wells: all medical assistance was in vain; the saponaceous medicines, that had given him intervals of ease, and probably many years of existence, had now lost their efficacy, or by their efficacy worn their conductors out. In him the vital principle was strong, and nature,

which resisted dissolution, maintained at every outpost that defended life, a lingering agonizing struggle. Through every stage of varied misery—‘extremes by change more fierce’—his fortitude remained unshaken, his senses perfect, and his mind never died, till the last pulse was spent, and his heart stopped for ever.

“As I knew he had been some time meditating upon his preparation to receive the sacrament, and death seemed near at hand, I reminded him of it; he declared himself ready, and at peace with all mankind; *in one instance only he confessed it cost him a hard struggle. What that instance was he needed not to explain to me, nor am I careful to explain to any.* I trust according to the infirmity of man’s nature, he is rather to be honoured for having finally extinguished his resentment, than condemned for having fostered it too long. A christian saint would have done it sooner; how many men would not have done it ever!

“The Reverend Mr. Sackville Bayle, his worthy parish priest and ever faithful friend, administered the solemn office of the sacrament to him, reading at his request the prayers for a communicant at the point of death. He had ordered all his bed-curtains to be opened and the sashes thrown up, that he might have air and space to assist him in his efforts: what they were, with what devotion he joined in those solemn prayers that warn the departing spirit to dismiss all hopes that centre in this world, that reverend friend can witness; I also was a witness and a partaker, none else was present at that holy ceremony.

“A short time before he expired, I came by his desire to his bedside, when taking my hand, and pressing it

between his, he addressed me for the last time, in the following words:—"You see me now in those moments, when no disguise will serve, and when the spirit of a man must be proved. I have a mind perfectly resigned, and at peace within itself. I have done with this world; and what I have done in it, I have done for the best; I hope and trust I am prepared for the next. Tell not me of all that passes in health and pride of heart; these are the moments in which a man must be searched, and remember that I die, as you see me, with a tranquil conscience, and content." Such was the calm and peaceful end of—

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE,

who expired on the 26th of August 1785, in the
sixty-ninth year of his age.

So, through the cloud of death his spirit passed
Into that pure and unknown world of love,
Where injury cannot come.

His Lordship was interred in the family vault at Withyhan church, contiguous to the park, and his faithful friend, Mr. Cumberland, followed his remains to the tomb.

Having accomplished his warfare on earth, the mortal remains of Lord Sackville were deposited in "the house appointed for all living," where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest." There the malignant contentions of hatred are heard no more, but the oppressor and the oppressed repose together in peace, and the aristocrat and the plebeian commingle their dust together. "When I look upon the tombs of the great," says Addison, "every emotion of envy dies in me. When I see kings lying by those who deposed them. When I con-

sider rival wits placed side by side; or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some, hundreds of years ago, I consider that great day, when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together."

In person Lord Sackville was full six feet high. He always wore a 'bag, and invariably a sword, after he quitted the army, as may be observed by the fine portrait of him published by Alderman Boydell in 1775, and so far his personal appearance agrees with the gentleman seen by Mr. Jackson.

"On my landing at Dover from Paris in 1785," says Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, "I received the intelligence of Lord Sackville's death. I lost in him a zealous friend. He would have appointed me under-secretary of state in July 1781, when a vacancy took place in his office; but Mr. Knox, who principally conducted the business of that department, opposed my appointment. He said, not without some reason, that 'he could no longer perform the duties of his employment, if his colleague occupied a seat in parliament, as the necessary attendance *there* must leave the whole weight and drudgery upon *him*.' In 1784, Lord Sackville brought me into the House of Commons, leaving me equally free in my parliamentary capacity, as he did his own son-in-law, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Medley, the two members for East Grinstead. His correspondence, which I enjoyed down to the close of his life, exhibits in every letter the acuteness of his intellect, the elevation of his mind, and the

playful vivacity of his temper, unsubdued by age. Nor does it less forcibly display that strong attachment to the king, cemented by recent marks of his favour, which always characterised Lord Sackville.

“Among the peculiar features of Lord Sackville’s intellectual formation, was a quickness of perception, which seemed at times to partake of prescience and intuition. Being likewise destitute of all reserve *where secrecy was not demanded*, he rarely declined answering any question put to him; and he was a stranger to circumlocution or evasion. In February 1784, when Pitt’s eventual stability in office began to be evident, and his final triumph over the *coalition* almost certain, Lord Walsingham and I asked Lord Sackville, ‘How long will Pitt remain first minister?’ He looked up for two or three seconds, and then replied, ‘Five years.’ The accomplishment of this prediction, or rather opinion, proved ridiculously accurate; for, in February 1789, Pitt in fact was *out*, and only the folly of his opponents, by furnishing him from week to week with new subjects of delay, had allowed time for the King’s recovery from his great malady. Nor did Lord Sackville possess less candour than he manifested acuteness. The ‘*Rolliad*’ did not spare him, among the individuals selected for satire or ridicule by the authors of that production.

“Lord Sackville *though not a man of letters, nor even inclined to literary pursuits*, yet seemed to inherit his grandfather Charles Earl of Dorset’s partiality for talents. As Hobbes wrote under the protection of the Earls of Devonshire, at Chatsworth and at Hardwick; so Cumberland composed several of his dramatic pieces under that nobleman’s roof, either at Stoneland, or at Drayton.

I have myself assisted several times at the reading of his tragedies or comedies.

“There was not probably a nobleman in England who combined a more liberal economy with a hospitable and splendid establishment. He maintained three separate households; one in Pall Mall, another at Stoneland in Sussex—a family seat to which he was partial, where he had passed much of his youth, and which he rented of his nephew the Duke of Dorset. He kept up a third, at his magnificent place of Drayton, in the county of Northampton. His table was admirably served, and his house never wanted a select company of both sexes. Yet his income did not exceed nine or ten thousand pounds a year; and when he went out of office, he made no reduction whatever in his household, nor dismissed a single domestic. With *him* may justly be said to have become eclipsed the name of Sackville, as a parliamentary beacon. Though Minden and America exposed him to popular clamour, yet posterity, I am persuaded, viewing him dispassionately, will rank him among the most eminent persons who performed a part on the great theatre of public life during the reigns of George II. and of his present Majesty.”—*Wraxall's Memoirs*, i. 418.

Having thus pursued Lord Sackville through life, and laid before the reader the proofs that have been adduced to render his “name immortal,” by identifying it with that of Junius, it only remains to answer the objections which have been arrayed against this overwhelming mass of evidence.

“To all arguments which may be suggested in favour of Lord George,” says Mr. Butler, “the Author of the ingenious Essay prefixed to Woodfall’s edition of the

Letters of Junius objects an expression in a political squib attributed to Junius, in which he alludes to the supposed tergiversation of Lord George at the battle of Minden.* This may be thought a strong, but it evidently is *not a decisive* argument, particularly if we suppose, what certainly is not impossible, that Lord George had, on this subject, all the pride of conscious innocence. It must also be observed, that it is by conjecture only that the *jeu d'esprit*, in which this expression is found, is imputed to Junius."

Mr. Butler having answered the only objection urged by Dr. Good against the claims of Lord Sackville, we think it will not be difficult to give answers equally satisfactory to the objections of Mr. Butler himself. He proceeds thus: "To the reminiscent it appears more difficult to reconcile Lord George's authorship of Junius with that writer's advances to Mr. Wilkes, or his introduction of himself into city politics, or the importance which he appears to have attached to them. The high aristocracy of the whigs was, at that time, just beginning to thaw; but the reminiscent recollects that Lord George was considered as *eminently aristocratic*—it is difficult to think he would have run, as Junius did, into the city, or considered it to be of the importance which Junius thought it, that one man or another should be the Lord Mayor."—*Butler's Remin.* i. 102.

As facts are always more to be relied on than hypothesis, the best answer that can be given to Lord George's supposed aristocratic contempt for aldermen, and indifference about lord mayors, is, that his Lordship was *well known to have been the intimate friend of Alderman*

* See p. 239.

Sawbridge, and that Junius's first advance to Mr. Wilkes was made for the express purpose of obtaining the civic chair for Alderman Sawbridge, before the usual and regular period, and this Junius well knew could not possibly be accomplished without the co-operation of Mr. Wilkes, whose influence at that time was paramount in the city.* Besides, the aldermen of that day were a very different race from their successors of the present time. Aldermen Townshend, Oliver, and Sawbridge, whose talents and political conduct are mentioned with respect and approbation by Junius, were all gentlemen of fortune and education, little connected with trade. Alderman Wilkes was for many years the friend and confidant of Earl Temple, and we doubt whether even the "eminently aristocratic" Lord George Sackville would have considered it any degradation to associate with any of the gentlemen above mentioned.

Mr. Butler likewise puts the following queries:—

"Having written as Junius had done, would Lord North have recommended him to the King? Could the King have accepted Junius for his minister?" Now we feel much inclined to answer these objections according to the improved system of transatlantic logic, by asking a few other questions. What proof is there that either Lord North, or the King, knew or suspected that Lord George was the Author of Junius? And is not the negative sufficiently proved by the fact of the secret never having been divulged? Does not Mr. Butler himself

* This influence is expressly acknowledged by Junius, in a private letter to Woodfall, in which he says, "If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes *can tell me* that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me."

answer his own objections, when he tells us: "It was also mentioned to *us* from very good authority, that Lord North had declared that government had traced the porterage of the Letters to an obscure person in Staples Inn, *but could never trace them farther.*"

The question however seems to be set at rest by Mr. Barker (p. 67), who says: "The Duke of Sussex informed me, through his surgeon and librarian, and my excellent friend Mr. Pettigrew, that in the last conversation which His Royal Highness held with his mother, the late Queen Charlotte, she assured him that George the Third did *not know* who wrote the Letters of Junius."

Among the objections to the claims of Lord Sackville, we have to notice, "*A Letter to an honorable Brigadier-General, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Canada,*" which was first published in 1760, seven years previously to the first letter bearing the signature of Junius, and attacks, in the bitterest terms, the conduct of General, afterwards Lord, Townshend, in Canada, and episodically that of Lord George Sackville at Minden, and on his court-martial.

This letter was re-published in 1841, by Mr. R. W. Simons of the British Museum, for which he offers the following reason:—"Some months since, in the performance of his duties in the library of the British Museum, the writer met with a pamphlet, which, in his judgment, bore a close resemblance to the style and composition of Junius. It was referred as well to some friends, as to other gentlemen of impartiality and judgment; and the unhesitating opinion of all being, that the pamphlet and the Letters of Junius were by the same hand, it is now submitted to the public."

Mr. Simons also gives several quotations selected from the Letter, and from Junius, and contends that a peculiar resemblance will be observed between them, which he very justly remarks, from the early date of the former, derives an importance that cannot, for a contrary reason, be ascribed to similar coincidences in the works of Sir Philip Francis, and other writers; as the one can by no possibility, but the latter may with great probability, be considered an imitation. Here it will be observed, that it is from the similarity of style alone, Mr. Simons concludes the letter to be the composition of Junius, and as the letter itself is anonymous, this hypothesis (if correct) would not tend to throw the least light on the real author of Junius, though it would negative the claim of Lord Sackville, who certainly would not, as Mr. Simons observes, even to conceal the authorship or for any other purpose, have satirised, traduced, and stigmatised himself. But after a careful perusal of the "parallel passages" from the Letter and Junius given by Mr. Simons, we cannot concur with him and his friends in opinion, that they were written by the same hand, as the evidence appears quite insufficient to establish the fact.

The principal objection, however, to the claims of Lord George Sackville, is thus stated by Mr. Butler:

"It is also observable, that there is nothing in the *speech which Lord George Sackville made in his defence before the Court-martial*, by whom he was tried, that has the slightest appearance of the style of Junius; the same observation, on the difference between the Letters and his Lordship's *general style of oratory*, was made during the debates which followed his Lordship's coming into office, by the reminiscent, and by several with whom he then

associated. The Annual Register for 1759 and 1760, contains some letters from his Lordship: in these, nothing of the mind, or style, of Junius is discoverable.

This objection, it will be observed, is grounded on the *dissimilarity* of style; as the principal argument in favour of Sir Philip Francis's claim, is on the *similarity* of style to the Letters of Junius,—but we think the conclusions drawn from both hypotheses are fallacious, and of little weight.

The eminent abilities of Lord Sackville seem to have been universally appreciated and acknowledged by his contemporaries; and will not, we apprehend, be disputed at the present day, after the testimony given on the point by Lord Chatham, Lord Orford, Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, Sir Egerton Brydges, and Mr. Richard Cumberland, who were all competent judges of the subject: but, if any further proof be required, we have the additional evidence of Dr. Good, who says: “The talents of Lord George Sackville were well known and admitted, and his political principles led him to the same side of the question that was so warmly espoused by Junius.”

Let us, however, examine Mr. Butler's objections a little more minutely. The first is, that Lord George's *defence on his trial* is quite unlike the style of Junius: but this defence cannot be taken into consideration in deciding the question, for we are assured by Mr. Cumberland, that it is the composition of Dr. Shebbeare, who received 1000*l.* for his pains. Mr. Butler next objects to his Lordship's *general style of oratory*, being dissimilar to the Letters of Junius: but surely this is *not a fair test* to apply to the case, for the mental training, if not the talents, requisite for speaking and writing well, are so dissimilar,

that no inference can be drawn from a person excelling in the one, of what he may be capable of performing in regard to the other. Both Addison and Gibbon, it must be remembered, were silent senators, and that such of Burke's speeches as were revised by himself previous to publication, were so improved by the operation as scarcely to be recognised by those who had heard their delivery. And who can discover any traces of the energetic and impassioned eloquence of Lord Chatham in his written compositions?

The only writings of Lord Sackville's extant, are therefore reduced to a few letters; and one or two pamphlets, which appeared with his name prefixed just before his trial; and as his Lordship's defence on the trial is now known to have been composed by Dr. Shebbeare, it is highly probable that the pamphlets published about the same time, and on the same subject, proceeded from the same pen; and if so, the genuine compositions of Lord Sackville left for comparison with the Letters of Junius are reduced to almost nothing, for the Duke of Dorset informed Mr. Coventry it was out of his power to render him assistance, *not having any of his father's letters in his possession.*

Even admitting the whole of what Mr. Butler has stated to be true, we beg leave to suggest, that as Mr. Butler himself arrived at the conclusion that Junius "was not an author by profession, from the visible improvement which, from time to time, was discernible in his style;" it may fairly be assumed that Lord George Sackville employed the years he passed in retirement and solitude after his disgrace, in the successful study of composition,

and in amassing those stores of constitutional and general knowledge which the Letters of Junius exhibit.

If it could be shewn that Lord George's style at the time, or subsequently to the appearance of the Letters of Junius, was on ordinary occasions inferior to the latter, we think this would afford no criterion to judge of what he was capable of performing, when writing under the excitement of the most powerful passions of our nature. Perhaps it may be conceded, that notwithstanding the acknowledged abilities and great acquirements of Lord Sackville, it was only when inspired by the *demon of revenge* that he surpassed himself, and displayed that spirit of malignity, and exerted those almost supernatural energies against the authors of his disgrace, which are so apparent in the Letters of Junius. As a man under the influence of opium is said to have his faculties sharpened and exalted to an extraordinary degree, and to enjoy ecstatic visions of pleasure and happiness for a brief period, to be inevitably succeeded by the most depressing sensations of horror and despair; so would the tension of mind and high state of excitement experienced by Lord George on a *particular subject*, be followed by a corresponding state of lassitude and inanition, sufficient to account for the inferiority of his style when writing or speaking on comparatively indifferent subjects.

The tendency of any strong excitement to impart vigour and energy to the intellectual faculties was not unknown to Dr. Johnson, for upon some person expressing a doubt respecting the authenticity of one of Dr. Dodd's last publications, on account of its superiority to his general style, "Why should you think so?" observed Johnson; "depend upon it, Sir, when a man knows that he is

to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully."

"In one point of view," says Sir Philip Francis's advocate, "it seems unfortunate that the Letters of Junius were ever written. The improbability that the author would remain concealed or unsuspected, were he frequently to appear before the public, would compel him either to shun composition altogether, or to continue to write anonymously."

Similar sentiments are expressed by Mr. E. H. Barker, who not only acquiesces in Mr. Butler's conclusion, that Junius was not an author by profession, but adds, as his own opinion, that "a writer in the habit of publishing *pamphlets* or *books*, either with his name or without it, was not likely to have been the author of Junius, or he would long ago have been discovered as the author." This is certainly a very candid admission on the part of Mr. Barker, inasmuch as it at once demolishes the pretensions of his favourite, Charles Lloyd, who was a prolific pamphleteer, and at the same time advances the claim of Lord Sackville, who stood precisely in the situation which both Mr. Taylor and Mr. Barker conclude Junius must have done to preserve his secret.

Lord Sackville's autograph appears to have been so extremely scarce when Mr. Woodfall published his edition of Junius, in 1812, that although he has given specimens of the handwriting of Edmund Burke, Gerard Hamilton, and all the principal suspected persons, his book does not contain any autograph of Lord Sackville: this seems so extraordinary an omission, that it can only be accounted for on the supposition, that Mr. Woodfall was unable to procure a specimen.

Mr. Coventry was either more diligent or more fortunate, for he has given in his work a fac-simile of a long letter written by Lord George Sackville to his friend Captain Younge, in the year 1745, and taken the trouble to compare particular letters and words in that letter, with similar letters and words taken from the Letters of Junius published by Mr. Woodfall, by placing them in juxtaposition to each other; and adds: "Most of the words which I have selected to compare with those of Junius, bear so clear a resemblance, particularly where there is any peculiarity, that the reader will probably be convinced they were written by one and the same person."

The writer of the present review, has likewise in his possession the fragment of a letter, signed "Sackville," without date, but probably written after his Lordship was called to the House of Peers; and upon comparing this with the specimens of Junius's autographs, particularly No. 6, in Woodfall's second volume, there appears a very striking similarity between them.

In conclusion, it may be observed, that although the author of the Letters of Junius is not to be discovered either by the *similarity of style alone*, or even when that is united with a supposed *identity of handwriting*, because it has been shewn that both these striking characteristics *may* be fallacious, yet we confidently submit that, having proved Lord Sackville possessed *ALL the characteristics of Junius* mentioned by Mr. Butler and Dr. Good, and enumerated in our first chapter, his identity with the author of the Letters of Junius has been satisfactorily established. True it is, that some of the other claimants have made good their pretensions to *one* or *more* of these

characteristics; but no person, except Lord Sackville, has been proved to possess the whole; and Dr. Good has emphatically declared, that “the claimant who cannot produce them CONJOINTLY, is in vain brought forwards as the author of the Letters of Junius,”

“ _____ if this fail,
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
And earth's base built on stubble.”

THE CLAIMS OF
SIR PHILIP FRANCIS
AND
LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE
COMPARED.

Look here ! upon this picture ! and upon this
The counterfeit.

Hamlet.

——— Zounds ! I am afraid of this *gunpowder* PERCY,
though he be dead. How if he should counterfeit too, and
rise ? I am afraid he would prove the better counterfeit.

Fulstaff.

CHAPTER XIII.

Remarks on the present state of the controversy.—The different bearings of the objections to each claim pointed out.—The internal evidence afforded by the letters of “VETERAN” particularly examined.—The probabilities of the whole case shewn to be against the claim of Sir Philip Francis, and in favour of Lord George Sackville.—The evidence adduced in support of each claimant, shortly stated and compared.—Mr. Butler’s summing up of the evidence.—Conclusion that Lord George Sackville was Junius, and Sir Philip Francis his amanuensis.—This hypothesis shewn to reconcile all apparent contradictions, and clear up all difficulties.—The progress of public opinion respecting the claim of Lord George Sackville stated.—Character of Junius as a man and an author.

THE CLAIMS OF
SIR PHILIP FRANCIS
AND
LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE
COMPARED,

The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault, if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Junius.

IF the reader be not convinced that Junius has been identified, by what we have already advanced, he may at least rest satisfied that every suspected individual has been fairly hunted down, and that another name cannot be mentioned at the present day, to which a shade of suspicion is attached.

When Ford, instigated by 'the green-eyed monster,' commenced his search for Falstaff, he declared that "lest the devil that guides him should aid him, I will search impossible places." A chase equally keen has now been in progress for seventy years after Junius, and can we suppose that the pursuit of such accomplished literary sportsmen as Messrs. Wilkes, Butler, Coventry, and Barker; and Doctors Good, Parr, and Waterhouse, have been wholly unsuccessful and fruitless? This we cannot credit — on the contrary, we believe that they have all, by their labours, more or less assisted in tracking

the great Boar of the forest to his lair; and in conclusion, we shall endeavour to make this clear, by shortly recapitulating the evidence, and comparing the proofs adduced on behalf of Sir Philip Francis and Lord George Sackville (the two favourite Candidates) with each other, and inquiring how far they respectively agree with the requisite characteristics of Junius.

But before entering on this task we have to remark, that whenever several competitors are found all eagerly contending for some honorary distinction, and each admitting, that with the exception of himself, *one particular candidate* is clearly entitled to the prize, we may be pretty sure that the individual to whom all his compeers unanimously award the *second* place, is in reality entitled to the *first*. Such is the position in which Lord George Sackville stands with regard to this controversy; for not only the *investigators*, but even the *advocates*, of the other claimants, either directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication, award to him, at least the *second* place.

Before the subject was much canvassed, Dr. Good could not help remarking upon the private note respecting Swinney, that: "Such letter was in fact one of the most curious in the whole collection, and if written by Lord George Sackville, settled the point of the authorship at once." And Mr. Butler says: "Supposing the evidence in favour of Lord George Sackville to rest entirely upon the circumstances which have been mentioned, it must be pronounced to be defective. On this supposition, however, it might have been observed that the evidence in his favour *was stronger* than the evidence in favour of any other person."

In the course of Mr. Barker's argument on behalf of

Lloyd, he remarks, "Many intelligent persons are inclined to suspect that Lord George Sackville was the writer of Junius. I by no means concur in that opinion. But though he were not Junius, he might nevertheless, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or accidentally, furnish Junius with information about military matters, and *who will undertake to say that he did not?*" And Mr. Taylor, the champion of Sir Philip Francis, makes several similar admissions, as we shall presently shew. The Quarterly Review (xiii. 207), likewise contains the following remarkable passage, in a critique on Wraxall's Historical Memoirs:—

"On the subject of Junius, Sir Nathaniel informs us, that the King knew who the author was—that he, Sir Nathaniel, believes that Gerard Hamilton *was*; and that he is *confident* that Lord Sackville was *not*. Now let us say here, *en passant*, that we have good reason to believe that the King did not know, and of course did not affect to know Junius,—that Gerard Hamilton's claims are very slight; and that of all the claimants, we are decidedly of opinion that there is the greatest mass of evidence against Lord Sackville—we say *against*, because undoubtedly his Lordship would lose more in moral character than he would gain in literary and political reputation from being proved to have written Junius. But it is amusing, though in Sir Nathaniel's work not singular, that his reasoning on this subject leads to conclusions exactly the reverse of those at which he arrives. For example—he thought, at first, that 'Junius's death, whenever it took place, would infallibly remove the veil which conceals his name. On more mature reflection, nevertheless, very strong causes for continuing to preserve

his incognito beyond the grave, may present themselves. *If he left behind him lineal representatives*, he might dread exposing them to the hereditary animosity of some of the worst and most powerful men of this country. Even should he have left no descendants, it is possible that he might dislike the comparison between his actions and his writings, which must have been made by mankind. If, for instance, it would have been proved that he accepted an office, a pension, or a peerage, from the Sovereign and the Minister whom he had recently accused as enemies to their country, or as having betrayed its interests; would not the moral aversion or contempt excited towards his memory by such a disclosure, have overbalanced the meed of literary fame obtained from the labours of his pen? Now not one of these considerations (and we admit to Sir Nathaniel that they are all very forcible) occurs in the case of Mr. Hamilton, *and every one of them suit in a remarkable manner that of Lord Sackville*. If more than one person was concerned, Hamilton may have assisted; but that his Lordship was, if not the author, at least *the informer and instigator of Junius*, we have a very confident, and, we think, well grounded belief; but on this interesting subject, we may say something on a future and more appropriate occasion."

It is also important to bear in mind, that the objections to the claim of Sir Philip constitute, in almost every instance, arguments in favour of the pretensions of Lord Sackville: although the contrary facts and reasons urged in proof of the pretensions of Sir Philip Francis do not interfere in any way with those in favour of Lord Sackville. For instance, the fact that Junius appears to have been a member of the House of Commons, and the pro-

bability that he was a person of mature age, and experience, which are very powerful objections against the title of Sir Philip, constitute arguments of weight in favour of the pretensions of Lord Sackville. But the presumption arising from the *personal* interest which Junius exhibited on occasion of the discharge of Mr. D'Oyly and Mr. Francis from the War Office, in favour of Sir Philip's claim, apply with equal force to the pretensions of Lord Sackville, since it is certain, that he entertained *a personal friendship for Mr. D'Oyly*; and as this is one of the strongest arguments urged by Sir Philip's advocate in his favour, we will examine its validity and force rather more minutely.

Great stress is laid on the evident connexion between Junius and the War Office, founded upon the official information disclosed in the Letters signed 'VETERAN,' to prove that these Letters must have been written by Sir Philip, (it being admitted that the author of the Letters of Junius also wrote those signed 'Veteran'); and yet, Mr. Taylor acknowledges that the internal evidence afforded by these letters, which relate almost exclusively to the dismissal of Mr. D'Oyly by Lord Barrington, and the appointment of Mr. Chamier in his place, as deputy-secretary, point strongly to Lord Sackville as their author, and to escape from the difficulty, he is obliged to assume that a deception was practised by Mr. Francis to divert the attention of Lord Barrington from himself, for he says:—"All the letters upon Chamier's appointment were under the name of Veteran, *perhaps to insinuate that they proceeded from the pen of Lord George Germain.*" But it is obvious that such a *ruse de guerre* could answer no useful purpose, for if Lord Barrington

knew that the facts stated in these letters were confidential and official secrets, he must have been equally aware that the writer, whoever he might be, could only have derived his information from some faithless clerk. And the result proves that Lord Barrington was not misled by such supposed deception; for finding the secrets of his office still divulged, notwithstanding the dismissal of Mr. D'Oyly, he discharged Mr. Francis also; and Veteran, in his fourth and LAST letter, addressed to the printer of the P. A., on the 23d of March 1772, says:—"I desire you will inform the public that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyly out of the War Office, has at *last* contrived to expel Mr. Francis." "He speaks," says Sir Philip Francis's advocate, "of Mr. Francis and his friend Mr. D'Oyly, in terms of *unqualified approbation*. His friendship is no less conspicuous than his enmity, nor less indicative of the writer; they are described as *men, who do their duty with credit and ability*. And, therefore, are not *proper instruments for Barrington to work with*. He must have a broker from Change-alley for his deputy, and some raw, ignorant boy *for his first clerk*. I think the public have a right to call upon Mr. D'Oyly and Mr. Francis to declare their reasons for quitting the War Office. *Men of their unblemished characters* do not resign lucrative employments without some sufficient reasons. The conduct of these gentlemen *has always been approved of*, and I know that they stand as well in the esteem of the army, as any persons in their stations ever did. What signifies *abilities*, or *integrity*, or practice, or experience in business? Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications

are about him." Again:—"I wish that Mr. Francis and Mr. D'Oyly would give the public some account of what is going forward at the War Office. I think these events so remarkable, that some notice ought to be taken of them in the House of Commons."

The fulsome praise lavished on Mr. Francis in this letter is strong presumptive evidence that he was not the writer, for the dignified Junius assures us that even Philo-Junius "is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal."

It appears then, that Veteran commenced his attack upon Lord Barrington in consequence of *the dismissal of Mr. D'Oyly from the War Office*, and the appointment of Mr. Chamier in his place, and that Mr. Francis's dismissal did not take place till about the time that Veteran wrote his *last letter*, before which period there is no evidence that Mr. Francis had any cause of complaint against his Lordship, and even in Veteran's last letter we never find Mr. Francis mentioned, *except in conjunction with Mr. D'Oyly*. The facts and circumstances contained in the letters of Veteran, certainly shew that the writer must have derived his information from some person in possession of the secrets of Lord Barrington's office; but it is quite clear that Mr. D'Oyly was equally competent with Mr. Francis to have furnished Lord Germain with such information, and when we afterwards find the *same Mr. D'Oyly living in Lord Sackville's house, and acting as his private and confidential secretary*, need we look farther for the source of his information. Or, if we suppose that both Mr. D'Oyly and Mr. Francis betrayed the secrets of their office, can we doubt that they were anything more than mere tools in

the hands of "that man of *high rank*, who moved in the immediate circle of the Court, and was intimately connected, either directly or indirectly, with ALL the public offices of government."

If the author of Junius should prove to be Sir Philip Francis, it will certainly stand out as one of the most extraordinary and unaccountable occurrences ever known, "that he, a mere clerk in the War Office" (as Mr. Barker remarks, p. 6), "should have commenced his literary career by a series of papers perfect in their style of composition; and his political career by professing those high public principles which belong only to the tongues or the pens of men who have been for a series of years running their course of usefulness and of fame. That he should have denounced the conduct of the ministry in the severest terms, with the apparent stile of an experienced rhetorician, the exact knowledge of an able statesman, the lofty tone of an independent spirit, and a Demosthenic vehemence of diction unparalleled in the history of human eloquence.

"If Sir Philip Francis did in such circumstances write the Letters of Junius, then the history of the world itself has exhibited no similar or second instance of this sort; the phenomenon cannot be explained by all the philosophy of the human mind, and nothing is too little or too great for human credulity."

If, on the contrary, Junius should prove to be Lord Sackville, we have the instructive history of a man of powerful abilities, but strong passions, burning with indignation on account of his degraded and wounded honour, thirsting for revenge against those whom he considered the authors of his disgrace, plotting the over-

throw of his enemies, and contriving an intricate plan to raise his own fortunes under the specious garb of patriotism, and working on the loftiest feelings of his countrymen as auxiliaries in the prosecution of his own selfish and ambitious designs.

Upon examining and comparing the evidence adduced on behalf of each claimant, the balance of testimony appears to stand as follows:—

The principal characteristics required by Dr. Good and Mr. Butler to be produced *conjointly* by the successful claimant for the honours of Junius, are, that he must be—"An Englishman of high rank, and of easy if not affluent circumstances. That he moved in the immediate circle of the Court, and was intimately connected either directly or indirectly with ALL the public offices of government. That he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the Cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the Court, and entrusted with ALL its secrets. That he was of mature age and experience. That he had a personal animosity against the King, the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton, Lord Mansfield, and others." ALL these indispensable characteristics are found centred in Lord George Sackville, AND NOT ONE OF THEM in Sir Philip Francis.

It is proved that Lord Sackville was the first person suspected of being Junius by those most competent to form a correct judgment on the subject. That all the circumstances and actions of his life, and his behaviour in his last moments, confirm such suspicion. That he was aware of this, and yet was never known to contradict or deny the imputation. That no suspicion attached to

Sir Philip Francis until more than fifty years after the first appearance of the Letters, and upon being questioned on the subject he wrote a letter, treating the report as *a silly malignant falsehood*; and finally, that he died and “made no sign.”

That the strongest argument urged in favour of the claim of Sir Philip Francis, founded upon the similarity of style between the Letters of Junius and the writings and speeches of Sir Philip, of dates long posterior to the appearance of the Letters, is shewn to be fallacious. And the objections against the claim of Lord Sackville, arising from his supposed inability to compose the Letters of Junius, have been satisfactorily answered.

In various passages in the Letters of *Junius*, it is either expressly asserted, or it may be fairly inferred, that the author was an Englishman. That his rank and fortune placed him above a common bribe. That he was “far above all pecuniary views.” That he possessed a personal knowledge of the King, and his domestic habits; that he was a man of mature age and experience; that he was an *old reader* of controversy, and remembered the Walpolean battles; that he was a member of the House of Commons; that he had seen certain jesuitical books burnt at Paris; that he was a soldier, and had served under Lord Townshend, and that his brother Mr. Charles Townshend has repeatedly promised to serve under him. ALL these numerous and important asseverations are proved to be true, or might be true, if written by Lord Sackville; but on the supposition of their being written by Sir Philip Francis, they are every one, deliberate, voluntary, and unnecessary falsehoods.

The reiterated assertion of Junius, that he was “an

Englishman," and the contrary inference drawn by the critics, that he must have been an Irishman, or educated in Ireland, are both found to be consistent with the facts as regards Lord Sackville, who was born in London, and educated in the university of Dublin; whereas the *converse* of this is true, if applied to Sir Philip Francis, who was born in Dublin, and educated in St. Paul's School, London.

The profound knowledge displayed by Junius of military affairs, proves that he must have been an old and experienced soldier; and the contradictory assertion in one of his letters, wherein he says, "I am *not* a soldier, my lord;" is also shewn to be consistent with the peculiar situation of Lord Sackville, and could scarcely be applicable to any other person. Certainly *not* to Sir Philip Francis.

Junius declares that he was not personally acquainted with Mr. George Grenville; but Sir Philip Francis served with him a short time in office, and he possessed the personal favour of Lord Egremont, Mr. Grenville's brother-in-law; there is no evidence that Lord Sackville was personally acquainted with Mr. George Grenville.

Junius shews the most intimate knowledge of the affairs of Sir Jeffery Amherst, and takes the greatest interest in his welfare. He also speaks on all occasions in the highest terms of admiration of the character of Alderman Sawbridge, and opened a private correspondence with Mr. Wilkes, for the purpose of getting Sawbridge appointed Lord Mayor, out of the usual rotation. It is proved that Lord Sackville, Sir Jeffery Amherst, and Alderman Sawbridge, were near neighbours, having estates contiguous to each other in the

county of Kent, and were intimate private friends. There is no evidence that Sir Philip Francis was acquainted with either Sir Jeffery Amherst or Alderman Sawbridge.

During the period in which the Letters of Junius appeared, Mr. Francis held an official situation which would necessarily occupy the principal part of his time. That the author of Junius had no such restraint on his leisure is highly probable, from the immense care and labour evidently bestowed on the composition of the Letters, and the rapidity with which they were produced; and this agrees with the situation of Lord Sackville at that time.

That Junius, while writing his Letters, "resided almost *constantly in London*, or its vicinity," is an inference drawn by Mr. Woodfall's editor. One of the letters written by Junius under the signature of "Arthur Tell-truth," is dated with the words "Pall Mall." Mr. Francis during the same time held an official situation which required constant attendance in London. Lord Sackville was then closely attending his parliamentary duties, and had a town-house *in Pall Mall*, and a country-house at Richmond, where the King then resided.

Junius was an advocate for triennial parliaments. He supported the Stamp Act. He was in favour of repealing the duty on tea, as an impolitic act, not an oppressive one. On all these points and many others, Lord Sackville agreed with Junius. Junius was opposed to a reform in parliament by cutting away the rotten boroughs. So was Lord Sackville, who represented a borough he had purchased. With respect to Sir Philip Francis, this similarity of political sentiment with Junius is proved to exist in one or two instances, but there are also cases

of marked disagreement; indeed, Sir Philip Francis's political career belongs to another, and later era.

It is concluded that Junius entertained sentiments of kindness for Woodfall, his printer. Mr. Francis was Woodfall's schoolfellow. Lord Sackville employed him to print a pamphlet many years *before* the appearance of the Letters of Junius.

Junius was excessively bitter against the Scotch. A majority of the officers on the court-martial which condemned Lord Sackville, were Scotchmen. He had also served under the Duke of Cumberland (who is highly commended by Junius), against the friends of the Pretender in Scotland, and he expressed the greatest dislike to the country and people; no such antipathy against the Scotch nation was ever shewn by Sir Philip Francis.

With regard to the remainder of the "characteristics" of Junius, enumerated by Dr. Good, namely, "that he was of a highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution, and history of his native country"—there can be no doubt, from the concurring testimony of his contemporaries, that these characteristics were possessed by Lord Sackville *at the time* the letters of Junius appeared,—but there is not the slightest evidence that Mr. Francis had any pretensions to them *at that time*, whatever might be his knowledge *thirty years afterwards*, which is about the period when the specimens of his compositions were written, that are brought forward to prove his equality with Junius—and such equality at any time is denied by such competent judges as Dr. Parr and Mr. Butler.

Lastly, it is proved that the handwritings of Sir Philip Francis and Lord Sackville, both resemble the

fac-simile specimens of the autographs of the private letters of Junius to Woodfall. It is likewise inferred that Junius was tall of stature, which corresponds with the personal description both of Sir Philip Francis and Lord Sackville.

We shall now present the reader with Mr. Butler's remarks upon the evidence produced on behalf of both parties; and although the learned gentleman, following the example of all cautious and impartial judges, gives no decisive opinion of his own upon the merits of the case, he nevertheless takes care to place the principal facts in such lucid order, and comments in so pertinent and masterly a manner on the most material points of the evidence, as cannot fail to lead an intelligent jury to a correct conclusion, and enable them to pronounce a just verdict between the parties:—

“Such, in our opinion,” says Mr. Butler, “is the state of the question: all external evidence is in favour of Sir Philip Francis; all internal evidence is against him. Thus the argument on one side neutralizes the argument on the other; and the pretensions of Sir Philip Francis vanish.

“A third hypothesis is therefore necessary: the conclusion to which it should lead, ought to be such as is consistent with the evidence on each side, and restores to each its individual activity. Now this is done—and perhaps can only be done—by supposing that Sir Philip was not Junius, but the amanuensis of Junius; that the real Junius was too high to be bought, so that when he made his terms with government, he was contented to remain in a proud obscurity; but stipulated a boon for his scribe; and was of consequence enough to insist that the boon should be liberal. Now several passages in

Junius's Letters seem to shew that he employed an amanuensis. In a note to Woodfall, he says, 'You shall have the letter some time to-morrow. It cannot be corrected and *copied* sooner.' In another he says, 'The enclosed, though begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured. It is very *correctly copied*.' In another, he mentions, 'the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of their correspondence;' and *who told him* 'there was much difficulty last night.' That gentleman, therefore, must have known, that a mysterious something attended those letters. Mr. Jackson's testimony, as reported by Woodfall, is, that 'this gentleman wore a bag and sword.' If the recollection of the writer, that Junius's letter to the King is in a handwriting different from the handwriting of the other letters, be accurate, the evidence for an amanuensis is certainly very strong.

"If the copies, to which Junius refers, were made, not by himself, but, which is certainly most probable, by some other person, it follows incontrovertibly, that Sir Philip Francis and Junius were different persons.

"We do not, however, say that Sir Philip was a mere copyist: he may occasionally have conveyed useful information, and suggested useful hints to his principal, so that, to a certain extent, he might, without impropriety, be said to have been his collaborator.

"To this hypothesis the Reminiscent begs leave to say that he inclines. It includes all the data required by him for the author of Junius; it equally admits the arguments in favour of Sir Philip Francis, from external, and the arguments against him, from internal, evidence; and reconciles and gives activity to each.

"Junius, in his dedication, prefixed to his own edition of

his Letters, declares, that 'he was the sole depository of his own secret.' This seems not to be easily reconcilable with what he says in one of his letters to Woodfall—'The truth is, that there *are people about me*, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than not at all.' This sounds like the language of a partisan, who felt both his talents and his chains: and it may be thought a confirmation, though slight, of the Reminiscent's hypothesis.

"All we know with certainty of Junius, is to be collected from one of his private letters to Woodfall: 'That Swinney is a wretched, dangerous fool: he had the impudence to go to Lord Sackville, whom he had never before spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius.'

"These few words disclose several facts:—that Junius knew Swinney—knew his character—knew that Swinney had called on Lord George Sackville—knew that Swinney had never called on him before—and knew of the interview very soon after it took place. From this it may be argued that Junius was intimate with Lord George Sackville; it has even been inferred that he was Lord George Sackville himself.

"The Reminiscent well remembers that his Lordship was the person to whom the Letters were *first attributed*; and that his Lordship had the reputation of possessing literary talents and habits. It is known that Sir William Draper at first divided his suspicions of the authorship of Junius, between Burke and Lord George; and on Burke's unequivocal denial of it, transferred them to his Lordship.

“There certainly was an event in his Lordship’s life, which would sour him against mankind, and fill his soul with *bitter hatred against the king* in whose reign it happened, and his immediate successor on the throne; against Lord Mansfield, their secret and confidential adviser in all state prosecutions; and against the Duke of Grafton, the brother of Lord Southampton, a strong witness against Lord George on the court-martial which was held upon him. Something or other might easily have occurred, which would have extended this hatred to the Duke of Bedford.

“The event, to which we have referred, would render concealment necessary; and after Lord George had taken an office in Lord North’s administration, and accepted a peerage from the king, it must, if he had any feelings of honour, have made him desire that his authorship of the Letters of Junius, if he were the author of them, should be buried in eternal oblivion.

“Junius, in many parts of his Letters, seems to intimate his having a personal knowledge of the late king. ‘I know that man better than you,’ he says of the king, in one of his letters to Mr. Horne. To this personal knowledge of the king, the high birth of Lord George, and the habits of his family about the court, entitled him: but this personal knowledge of the king *cannot be claimed for any other person to whom the Letters of Junius have been ascribed*. The rank and character of Lord George Sackville account also for his knowledge of some very obscure transactions of government, and some private events in the Duke of Bedford’s family. It may be added, that Junius ceased to write in May 1772; that, soon afterwards, Lord George made his second appearance in the public

world in the debates on East India affairs, and that in 1775, he was appointed one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state. Allowing for the time which it must necessarily take to bring into public office a man so apparently undone in public opinion, it is not contrary to probability, that the *pour parler* for his restoration to favour began about the time at which Junius ceased to write."—*Butler's Reminiscences*, i. 100.

This statement appears satisfactory, and when taken in connexion with the review of the whole controversy, will, we submit, warrant the conclusion that Lord George Sackville was Junius, and Sir Philip Francis his confidant and amanuensis; for Mr. Butler, in his last letter to Mr. Barker on the subject of Junius, dated June 14th, 1828, remarks, "that there was *some* connexion between Junius and Sir Philip appears to me sufficiently proved by Mr. Taylor's publication."

On this hypothesis, therefore, and no other, can all the apparent contradictions be reconciled, complete justice be rendered to both parties, and the case cleared from those doubts and difficulties, in which it otherwise seemed to be inextricably involved; and among others, it will solve the only remaining difficulty not hitherto noticed, which is thus stated by Mr. Butler:

"Can it be supposed that Lord George Sackville could have informed Woodfall, that 'his Veridicus was Mr. Whitworth, his Lycurgus, a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon the town.' In fact, one of the greatest difficulties in fixing upon any *one person* the character of Junius, is to find one who like him, was at once well acquainted with the circle of the court, with city conflicts, with the public offices of government, and

with the character and habits, both of the leaders of the parties and their runners."

The conflicting claims of Lord George Sackville and Sir Philip Francis seem so irreconcilable on any other hypothesis than the one suggested by Mr. Butler, that Mr. Barker insists that the evidences adduced in support of their claims *neutralize and destroy each other*; but we have endeavoured to prove that the facts brought forward on both sides are not only consistent with, but mutually support, the share assigned to each party in the production of the Letters of Junius: that the difficulties in any other view of the case are neither few nor unimportant, appears from the following extract from Mr. Barker's work (p. 2):

"Mr. Taylor has adduced a multitude of facts, incidents, circumstances, and arguments, to identify Sir Philip Francis with Junius: he supposes himself to have succeeded in his object. Mr. Coventry is equally confident of having successfully identified Lord George Sackville with Junius, and he has produced a work of equal magnitude. Well then, if so many apparently striking proofs support the claims made for the knight, as well as for the nobleman, we may learn the great caution which is necessary to be observed in pursuing the subject, if we hope to arrive at any right conclusion. And I draw a most important inference from the fact of these conflicting proofs of authorship, viz: that the claims in a great degree neutralize each other; for he who on strong grounds contends for Sir Philip Francis's authorship, is on strong grounds opposed by him who pleads for the authorship of Lord George Sackville: then it proves that such grounds of argument in favour of the one may be entitled to no great weight, because similar grounds are

taken in favour of the other, and our confidence in either body of arguments is weakened or destroyed. For instance, if Sir Philip Francis, in penmanship, write like Junius, so does Lord George Sackville. But Junius was not a *duality*, like the German deity *Alcis*, mentioned by Tacitus; if he was Sir Philip, he was not Lord George. Then similarity of handwriting is a fallacious criterion for tracing the authorship of Junius. Then in discussing the question between the knight and the nobleman, *we must strike out of the account all the arguments common to each*, and judge by the number and the weight of those peculiar to each. On this plan we shall bring the controversy to a narrow point, and proceed on safer principles. But no man has yet made the attempt to act on this plan; and can we then wonder that the controversy still continues?"

Mr. Barker appears to have supposed that Junius was "the sole depository of his own secret," and had neither confidant nor amanuensis, and finding the *facts of the case* opposed to this hypothesis, he somewhat rashly threw overboard all the evidence which is applicable both to the claim of Lord Sackville and Sir Philip. But if he had investigated the subject a little deeper, he would have discovered a state of affairs to which the *whole of the evidence* might have been applied, without any straining or violence, and thus have been led to the adoption of Mr. Butler's hypothesis.

The question, whether Sir Philip was the amanuensis of Junius, Mr. Barker declined discussing, but acknowledges (p. 34) that:—

"If he was employed as the amanuensis of Junius, or as the transcriber of his papers, the employment,

continued for so long a period, would, by the *mere force of imitation*, give to him severe habits of thinking, close powers of reasoning, a great turn for sarcasm and invective, a facility of expression, a readiness at composition, a pointed and impassioned and polished style—his mind would gradually rise above the little world of official knowledge—borne on a bolder wing, he would take a loftier flight—he could not fail in his assent to imbibe a portion of the ether by which he was surrounded, and in approximating the sun to reflect some of the glory by which he was irradiated—the expressions, the thoughts, and the sentiments of Junius would be familiarised to his mind—the mannerism of that original writer would be his object of imitation—he could propose to his aspiring ambition no nobler model of excellence—he could find within the recesses of his bosom no graver authority to direct and support his opinions—by that high altar he would vow eternal patriotism—to that great demi-god he would pay his secret adoration—inspired by his presence, and protected by his arm, he would fearlessly pursue his career of usefulness and of fame, exulting in his strength, and rejoicing to be deemed by the sagacious an emanation of that divine intelligence, and careless of being mistaken by the vulgar for the intelligence itself. On this principle, then, we can fully account for the vigorous style and the powerful mind of Sir Philip, without supposing him to be Junius.”

On the other hand, it may be observed, that supposing Junius to have submitted the revision of his Letters to his amanuensis, they would probably be improved in point of accuracy of style, and purged from some of those grammatical errors and minor blemishes which generally

disfigure the compositions of an unpractised writer, and from which it is admitted that the Letters of Junius are not altogether free. It is related, that Sir Richard Blackmore laid the MS. of his "Creation" before a club of wits for improvement or correction; upon which Dr. Johnson remarks, "When all reasonable, all credible allowance is made for this friendly revision, the author will still retain an ample dividend of praise: for to him must always be assigned the plan of the work, the distribution of its parts, the choice of topics, the train of argument, and what is yet more, the general predominance of philosophical judgment and poetical spirit,—correction seldom effects more than the suppression of faults; a happy line, or a slight elegance, may perhaps be added, but of a large work the general character must always remain." To the extent here specified, Lord Sackville may have been indebted to his literary collaborator Sir Philip Francis.

It may probably be objected, that no personal intercourse has been traced between Lord George and Mr. Francis—the answer to this is, that it was essential to the preservation of the secret, that they should keep aloof and appear strangers to each other. It is evident that Mr. D'Oyly was THE CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN the man of high rank, mature age, and independent fortune, having a personal hatred against the King and his Ministers, whose handwriting is found to bear a strong resemblance to some of the *short private notes* written by Junius to Woodfall, AND the clever, young, inferior clerk, who was intrusted with "the slavery of writing," or copying for the press, the *longer and more elaborate letters*. This view of the case is corroborated

by the testimony of Mr. Jackson, one of Mr. Woodfall's assistants, who says; "*the superscription of the Letters of Junius was invariably written in the same handwriting, but that the contents were not always so.*"

We have seen that Lord Sackville "belonged to an order of minds that make to themselves great reverses," as Lord Wellesley observed of Napoleon; and it is equally clear, that he possessed in a considerable degree those peculiar talents by which the ablest (but not the best) of men have in all ages cajoled and ruled mankind, namely, the talent of selecting with consummate tact and judgment, the fittest instruments for executing his various designs, and of attaching those instruments firmly to his interest. By likewise taking the precaution of not letting any one know more of his designs than suited his purpose, it became unnecessary to give *his actors* the advice which Hamlet impressed on the poor players, of "speaking no more than was set down for them."

We accordingly find, that Sir Nathaniel Wraxall and Mr. Richard Cumberland were patronised by Lord Sackville for very different purposes, and these gentlemen have in their respective Memoirs given many interesting particulars of his Lordship; *but they were not the instruments of the noble Peer's vengeance*,—they had nothing to do with Junius, and therefore the important secret was so carefully concealed from them, that Mr. Cumberland deemed it utterly impossible that his kind patron should have been the author of such "execrable attacks," as are contained in the Letters of Junius; and Sir Nathaniel seems to have entertained a similar opinion, for he believed Sir Philip Francis to be their author.

If we examine the conduct of Sir Philip Francis and

Mr. D'Oyly, it will be found that they remained faithful to the compact made with their illustrious chief, and correctly performed the parts which were allotted to them, for they have descended to the tomb without leaving behind them either "Lives" or "Memoirs," or if they did, their labours have not been permitted to see the light; and for aught they have voluntarily done, the secret might have perished with them. But with all his splendid talents, Lord Sackville appears to have been wanting in what has ever been considered the consummation of art—the skill of concealing it; for Lord Orford discovered that "with a frankness in his speech, there was a mystery in his conduct which was far from inviting." And Sir Egerton Brydges remarked, that "he always moved with an impenetrable cloud around him."

The opinion of the public respecting the claim of Lord Sackville has been remarkably fluctuating. We have seen that on the first appearance of the Letters, he was suspected in the highest military circles of being the author; and with what address Junius withdrew himself from the controversy with his military opponents Colonel Draper and Titus, and then adroitly suppressed all trace of his having noticed the attack of the latter, who had distinctly pointed out his Lordship as Junius.

He then contrived to have his coadjutor and amanuensis, Sir Philip Francis, sent to India, and secured the silence of Mr. D'Oyly, by taking him into his own service as his private and confidential secretary. By these artful means the first suspicion was effectually lulled, and the attention of the public was afterwards diverted from the further consideration of his Lordship's claim, by the dust and clamour raised by discussing the

pretensions of Hugh Macaulay Boyd, General Lee, the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, and others.

Here the matter seems to have rested, until the publication of Mr. Woodfall's edition of Junius, which first brought to light the extraordinary letter from Junius to Woodfall about Swinney, and disclosed, in the private letters to Woodfall, strong additional evidence in support of Lord George's claim.

The right track being again opened to the public, was never afterwards entirely lost sight of; but in the interim, up started a new candidate in the person of Sir Philip Francis, between whom and Junius a similarity of style and handwriting was shewn to exist; and whose claim was likewise supported by a formidable array of remarkable coincidents, and enforced by many plausible arguments.

But when Sir Philip "died, and made no sign," the tide of public opinion, which for some time had been flowing fast in his favour, began to ebb. In the mean while Mr. Coventry was silently pursuing the right clue; and, in his "Critical Enquiry," presented to the world such a mass of facts, and so complete a chain of circumstantial evidence, in favour of Lord George Sackville, as appeared irresistible; and the Commentary of Mr. Butler on the rival pretensions of the Knight and the Nobleman, seemed all that was necessary to end the controversy.

Although the moralist cannot but condemn, and the christian must view with abhorrence the vindictive spirit which pervades the Letters of Junius, no person can withhold from their author the applause due to A GREAT WRITER, of whose genius any country might be justly proud.

In the powers of combination and generalization

requisite to strike out broad and philosophical views of politics, Junius may have been excelled by Burke; but in the ability to concentrate all the energies of a commanding intellect on any subject he chose to discuss, and to depict in a vivid and graphic manner, every varying shade of human character,—in the talent for presenting the results of a matured experience derived from an extensive intercourse with every grade of society; in just, striking, and profound axioms on human nature, and the affairs of the world,—few authors, besides Shakspeare, can be placed in competition with him. Whilst in the extraordinary union of keen and withering sarcasm, with a style condensed and clear to an eminent degree, and polished to intense brilliancy by the most delicate and refined taste, we believe him to stand unrivalled.

Thus it appears, that the materials for erecting a triumphal arch to the genius and glory of Junius had already been dug from the quarry by patient and persevering labourers; the structure itself had been raised, and all but finished, by the skill of able architects; and nothing more was wanting to complete the work, than to fix in and adjust the keystone, in order to bind and consolidate the mass into one perfect and harmonious whole, and on the superstructure should unquestionably be inscribed the name of

Lord George Sackville.

Here will I build him
A monument, and plant it round with shade
Of laurel ever green, and branching palm,
With all his trophies hung, and acts enrolled.—*Milton.*

APPENDIX.

PORTRAITS AND SKETCHES BY JUNIUS.

A flattering painter, who made it his care
To draw men as they ought to be, not as they are;
Until sick of pursuing each troublesome elf,
He grew lazy at last, and drew from himself.

Goldsmith.

His Majesty George the Third.—The Duke of Grafton.—The
Luttrells.—The Duke of Bedford.—Lord Chief Justice
Mansfield.—Lord North.—Lord Barrington.—Lord Towns-
hend.—Earl of Sandwich.—The Earls of Bute and Chatham.
—The Earl of Hillsborough.—The Earl of Shelburne.—
Sir Edward Hawke.—Lord Halifax.—Lord Weymouth.—
Sir William Blackstone.—The Rev. Mr. Horne.—The North
Britons.

PORTRAITS AND SKETCHES BY JUNIUS.

“Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance,—but the works of a master require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature.”—*Junius*, i. 125.*

THE choice collection of elaborately finished PORTRAITS and spirited SKETCHES, which we have the honour of exhibiting to the public, are the genuine works of an ARTIST of undoubted power and original genius, whose singular modesty would never allow his name to be divulged. Conscious of the merit of his pencil, and regardless of fame, he sent his works—marked by a particular MONOGRAM, which long baffled the sagacity of the connoisseurs to decipher—to a well-known DEALER of the last age, with a request that he would submit them to the test of public opinion, and not only retain the profits of the exhibition, but likewise keep the pictures as a compensation for his risk and trouble. HOGARTH, we are assured, used to sketch his inimitable figures on the nail of his left thumb, and afterwards transfer them to canvass; and our artist is supposed to have adopted a similar method; for no sooner had the collection appeared, than most of the PROTOTYPES vehemently protested against the correctness of the likenesses, alleging that they had no recollection of ever having sat for their portraits to any other artist than SIR JOSHUA, and that if he had presumed to delineate them in such a STYLE, the daubs would have been returned on his hands. But a discerning public considered these reasons unsatisfactory and frivolous, and pronounced the pictures equal to the best productions of the

* Woodfall's *Junius*, ed. 1812, is referred to throughout the Appendix.

most eminent masters; and this decision has been confirmed by posterity.

The collection, having been cleaned and re-arranged, is again submitted to public inspection.

HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III.

I know *that man* much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humoured fool. A systematical education, with long practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite (ii. 265). The man I speak of has not a heart to feel for the frailties of his fellow-creatures. It is their virtues that afflict, it is their vices that console him (ii. 313). I reverence the character of Charles the First, as little as Mr. Horne; but I will not insult his misfortunes by a comparison that would degrade him (ii. 309). The unfeigned piety, the sanctified religion of George the Third, have taught him to new model the civil forces of the state. The natural resources of the Crown are no longer confided in. Corruption glitters in the van;—collects and maintains a standing army of mercenaries, and at the same moment impoverishes and enslaves the country. His Majesty's predecessors had some generous qualities in their composition, with vices, I confess, or frailties in abundance. They were kings or gentlemen, not hypocrites or priests. They were at the head of the church, but did not know the value of their office. They said their prayers without ceremony, and had too little priestcraft in their understanding, to reconcile the sanctimonious forms of religion with the utter destruction of the morality of their people (ii. 323). The morality of a king is not to be measured by vulgar rules. The situation is singular. There are faults which do him honour, and virtues that disgrace him. A faultless, insipid equality in his character, is neither capable of vice nor virtue in the extreme; but it secures his submission to those persons whom he has been accustomed to respect, and makes him a dangerous instrument of *their* ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons, and

one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connexions, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block (ii. 152). Our gracious Sovereign has had wonderful success in creating new attachments to *his person and family*. He owes it, I presume, to the regular system he has pursued in the mystery of conversion. He began with an experiment upon the Scotch, and concludes with converting Mr. Horne (ii. 316). Our religious, benevolent, generous Sovereign, has no objection to selling *his own* timber to *his own* Admiralty to repair *his own* ships, nor to putting the money into *his own* pocket. People of a religious turn naturally adhere to the principles of the church. Whatever they acquire falls into *mortmain* (ii. 326). He advertises for patients, collects all the diseases of the heart, and turns a royal palace into an hospital for incurables. A man of honour has no ticket of admission at St. James's. They receive him like a virgin at the Magdalen;—*Go thou and do likewise* (ii. 439). Our gracious King, indeed, is abundantly civil to himself. Instead of an answer to a petition, his Majesty very gracefully pronounces his own panegyric (ii. 117). His Majesty is much addicted to useful reading, and, if I am not ill-informed, has honoured the *Public Advertiser* with particular attention. I have endeavoured therefore, and not without success, to furnish it with such interesting and edifying intelligence, as probably would not reach him through any other channel. Nor have his own virtues been entirely neglected. These Letters are read in other countries and in other languages; and I think I may affirm without vanity, that the gracious character of the best of princes is by this time not only perfectly known to his subjects, but tolerably well understood by the rest of Europe (ii. 251). That he is the king of a free people, is indeed his greatest glory. That he may long continue the king of a free people, is the second wish that animates my heart. The first is, *that the people may be free* (ii. 122).

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

THIS portrait is considered the artist's *chef d'œuvre*, and he directed the following descriptive lines to be affixed to it in the catalogue:

Detested as thou art, and ought to be,
Nor oath, nor pact, Achilles plights with thee:
Instead of amity, I vow one constant state
Of lasting rancour and eternal hate:
No thought but rage, and never-ceasing strife,
Till death extinguish rage, and thought, and life.

Pope's Iliad.

In what language shall I address so black, so cowardly a tyrant—thou worse than *one* of the *Brunswicks*, and all the *Stuarts*! (ii. 328). There is something which distinguishes you, not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, *but that you should never do right by mistake*. You are the pillow upon which I am determined to rest all my resentments (ii. 257). This letter, my Lord, is only a preface to my future correspondence. The remainder of the summer shall be dedicated to your amusement. I mean now and then to relieve the severity of your morning studies, and to prepare you for the business of the day. Without pretending to more than Mr. Bradshaw's sincerity, you may rely upon my attachment as long as you are in office (ii. 248). With a rate of abilities which Lord Weymouth very justly looks down upon with contempt, you have done as much mischief to the community as *Cromwell* would have done, if *Cromwell* had been a coward, and as much as *Machiavel*, if *Machiavel* had not known that an appearance of morals and religion are useful in society (ii. 322). The unhappy Baronet (Sir James Lowther) has no friends, even among those who resemble him. You, my Lord, are not yet reduced to so deplorable a state of dereliction. Every villain in the kingdom is your friend; and, in compliment to such amity, I think you should suffer your dismal countenance to clear up.

Besides, my Lord, I am a little anxious for the consistency of your character. You violate your own rules of decorum, when you do not insult the man whom you have betrayed (ii. 401). In your treatment of particular persons, you have preserved the uniformity of your character. Even Mr. Bradshaw declares that no man was ever so ill-used as himself (ii. 99). Colonel Luttrell, Mr. Onslow, and Governor Burgoyne, were equally engaged with you, and have rather more reason to complain than Mr. Bradshaw. These are men, my Lord, whose friendship you should have adhered to, on the same principle on which you deserted Lord Rockingham, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Portland. We can easily account for your violating your engagements with men of honour, but why should you betray your *natural* connexions? Why separate yourself from Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, and Mr. Rigby, or leave the three worthy gentlemen above-mentioned to shift for themselves? With all the fashionable indulgence of the times, this country does not abound in characters like theirs; and you may find it a difficult matter to recruit the black catalogue of your friends (ii. 100). Through the whole course of the Duke of Grafton's life, I see a strange endeavour to unite contradictions, which cannot be reconciled. He marries to be divorced; he keeps a mistress to remind him of conjugal endearments; and he chooses such friends as it is a virtue in him to desert (i. 157). If vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency, and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad. It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known, if the first Lord of the Treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the Queen. When we see a man act in this manner, we may admit the shameless depravity of his heart, but what are we to think of his understanding? (i. 159). The condition of a king is often miser-

able, but it required your Grace's abilities to make it contemptible (ii. 97). We are authorised to conclude, that you either differed from your colleagues, whose measures you still affect to defend, or that you thought the administration of the King's affairs no longer tenable. You are at liberty to choose between the hypocrite and the coward. Your best friends are in doubt which way they shall incline. Your country unites the characters, and gives you credit for them both. For my own part, I see nothing inconsistent in your conduct. You began with betraying the people—you conclude with betraying the King (ii. 98). Yet you have other merit in abundance,—Mr. Hine, the Duke of Portland, and Mr. Yorke,—breach of trust, robbery, and murder. You would think it a compliment to your gallantry, if I added rape to the catalogue;—but the style of your amours secures you from resistance (ii. 246). With what countenance dare you appear in the royal presence, branded as you are with the infamy of a notorious breach of trust? With what countenance can you take your seat at the Treasury board, or in council, when you *feel* that every circulating whisper is at *your* expense alone, and stabs you to the heart? Have you a single friend in parliament, so shameless, so thoroughly abandoned, as to undertake your defence? You know, my Lord, that there is not a man in either House, whose character, however flagitious, would not be ruined by mixing his reputation with yours; and does not your heart inform you, that you are degraded below the condition of a man, when you are obliged to hear these insults with submission, and even to thank me for my moderation? (ii. 59). And now, my good Lord, does not your conscious heart inform you, that the justice of retribution begins to operate, and that it may soon approach your person? Do you think that JUNIUS has renounced the Middlesex election? or that the King's timber shall be refused to the Royal Navy with impunity? or that you shall hear no more of the sale of that patent to *Mr. Hine*, which you endeavoured to screen by suddenly dropping your prosecution of Samuel Vaughan, when the rule against him was made absolute? I

believe, indeed, there never was such an instance in all the history of negative impudence. But it shall not save you. The very sunshine you live in is a prelude to your dissolution. When you are ripe, you shall be plucked (ii. 405).

THE LUTTRELLS.

A FAMILY GROUP.

THERE is a certain family in this country, on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor. In the senate their abilities have confined them to those humble, sordid services, in which the scavengers of the ministry are usually employed. But in the memoirs of private treachery, they stand first and unrivalled (ii. 403, note). When this accomplished youth (Colonel Luttrell) declared himself the champion of government, the world was busy in inquiring what honours or emoluments could be a sufficient recompense to a young man of his rank and fortune, for submitting to mark his entrance into life with the universal contempt and detestation of his country. His noble father had not been so precipitate. To vacate his seat in Parliament—to intrude upon a county in which he had no interest or connexion—to possess himself of another man's right—and to maintain it in defiance of public shame as well as justice, bespoke a degree of zeal or of depravity, which all the favour of a pious prince could hardly requite. I protest, there is in this young man's conduct a strain of prostitution, which, for its singularity, I cannot but admire. He has discovered a new line in the human character; he has degraded even the name of Luttrell, and gratified his father's most sanguine expectations (ii. 155). An intimate connexion has long subsisted between Bradshaw and the worthy Lord Irnham. It arose from a fortunate similarity of principles, cemented by the constant mediation of their common

friend, Miss Davis. Yet I confess I should be sorry that the opprobrious-infamy of this match should reach beyond the family. We have now a better reason than ever to pray for the long life of the best of princes, and the welfare of his royal issue. I will not mix anything ominous with my prayers; but let Parliament look to it. A Luttrell shall never succeed to the Crown of England.* If the hereditary virtues of the family deserve a kingdom, Scotland will be a proper retreat for them (ii. 402).

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

You are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public, that, if in the following lines a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious, therefore, of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. The rest is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation when panegyric is exhausted (i. 231). I reverence the afflictions of a good man—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distress of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find, an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son in consultations and bargains for a place at Court; and even in the misery of balloting at the India House! (i. 238). Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute at the Court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the

* The Duke of Cumberland had recently married Mrs. Horton, Colonel Luttrell's sister.

same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign. Their business required a man who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Gaudaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havanna, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negotiation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an internal evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice (i. 239). Let us consider you, then, as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness; let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished; and your most sanguine wishes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred, of the people. Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? and is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility after you have lost the vigour of the passions (i. 245). Your friends will ask, perhaps, whither will this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked! If he returns to Woburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery, to Lord Bute. At every town he enters he must change his liveries and his name. Which

ever way he flies, the Hue-and-Cry of the country pursues him. It is in vain, therefore, to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of danger: and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends, with whose interests you have sordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last, and that as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance (i. 246). Sir William Draper may rest assured this worthy nobleman laughs, with equal indifference, at my reproaches, and Sir William's distress about him. But here let it stop. Even the Duke of Bedford, insensible as he is, will consult the tranquillity of his life, in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from the profoundest contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he should soon find that all I have already said of him was lenity and compassion (ii. 18).

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE MANSFIELD.

OUR language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted. Ample justice has been done by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtues torture the sense (ii. 161). When I acknowledge your abilities, you may believe I am sincere. I feel for human

nature, when I see a man so gifted as you are, descend to such vile practices. Yet do not suffer your vanity to console you too soon. Believe me, my good Lord, you are not admired in the same degree in which you are detested. It is only the partiality of your friends, that balances the defects of your heart with the superiority of your understanding. No learned man, even among your own tribe, thinks you qualified to preside in a court of common law. Yet it is confessed, that under Justinian, you might have made an incomparable Prætor. It is remarkable enough, but I hope not ominous, that the laws you understand best, and the Judges you affect to admire most, flourished in the decline of a great empire, and are supposed to have contributed to its fall (ii. 181). The cunning Scotchman never speaks truth without a fraudulent design. In council, he generally affects to take a moderate part. Besides his natural timidity, it makes part of his political plan, never to be known to recommend violent measures. When the Guards are called forth to murder their fellow-subjects, it is not by the ostensible advice of Lord Mansfield. The designs of Mansfield are more subtle, more effectual, and secure. Who attacks the liberty of the press?—Lord Mansfield. Who invades the constitutional power of juries?—Lord Mansfield. What Judge ever challenged a juryman?—Lord Mansfield. Who was that judge, who, to save the king's brother, affirmed that a man of the first rank and quality, who obtains a verdict in a suit for criminal conversation, is entitled to no greater damages than the meanest mechanic?—Lord Mansfield. Who is it makes Commissioners of the Great Seal?—Lord Mansfield. Who is it forms a decree for those commissioners, deciding against Lord Chatham; and afterwards (finding himself opposed by the Judges) declares in parliament, that he never had a doubt that the law was in direct opposition to that decree?—Lord Mansfield. Who is he that has made it the study and practice of his life to undermine and alter the whole system of jurisprudence in the court of King's Bench?—Lord Mansfield. There never existed a man but himself, who answered exactly to so complicated a description. Compared to these enormities, his

original attachment to the Pretender (to whom his dearest brother was confidential secretary) is a virtue of the first magnitude. But the hour of impeachment will come, and neither he nor Grafton shall escape me (ii. 355). The distinction between *doing wrong* and *avoiding to do right* belongs to Lord Mansfield. Junius disclaims it (ii. 317). A judge under the influence of government may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified (i. 60). Considering the situation and abilities of Lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that, in *my* judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. Thus far I have done my duty in endeavouring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior ministerial office in the temple of justice. I have bound the victim, and dragged him to the altar (ii. 443).

LORD NORTH.

Who is Lord North? The son of a poor unknown Earl, who four years ago was a needy commissioner of the Treasury for the benefit of a subsistence, and who would have accepted a commission of hackney-coaches upon the same terms. The politics of Carlton House, finances picked up in Mr. Grenville's ante-chamber, and the elocution of a Demosthenes, endeavouring to speak plain with pebbles in his mouth, form the stuffing of that figure that calls itself minister, that does homage to the Princess Dowager, and says, "Madam, I am your man!" (iii. 317). This graceful minister is oddly constructed. His tongue is a little too big for his mouth, and his eyes a great deal too big for their sockets. Every part of his person sets natural proportion at defiance. At this present writing, his head is supposed to be much too heavy for his shoulders (ii. 128, note).

LORD BARRINGTON.

HAVING nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public with torturing that * * * * Barrington, but be careful not to have it known to have come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of Junius (i. 247). Besides the singular good fortune of never being himself a moment out of place, he has had extraordinary success in providing for every branch of his family. One brother was a general officer, with a regiment and chief command at Guadaloupe. A second is high in the navy, with a regiment of marines. A third is a judge, and the fourth is a bishop. Yet this is the man who complains *that he gets nothing!* (iii. 454). The people of this country will never forget nor forgive the inhuman part he took in the affair of St. George's Fields. Other secretaries at war have ordered out troops to assist the civil magistrate. For this man it was reserved, to give it under his hand, that he rejoiced and exulted in the blood of his fellow subjects (iii. 456). While that bloody scene was acting, where was the gentle Barrington? Was he sighing at the feet of antiquated beauty? Was he dreaming over the loo-table? or, was he more innocently employed in combing her ladyship's lap-dog? (iii. 436). You are not insensible of the scorn and hatred of the world, though you take no care to avoid it. When the bloody Barrington—that silken, fawning courtier at St. James's—that stern and insolent minister at the war-office, is pointed out to universal contempt and detestation; you smile, indeed, but the last agonies of the hysteric passion are painted in your countenance. Your cheek betrays what passes within you, and your whole frame is in convulsions (iii. 431). The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some mystery in it, which I hope will soon be discovered to his confusion. Next to the Duke of Grafton, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington (i. 254).

LORD TOWNSHEND.

WHY is that wretched creature, Lord Townshend, maintained in Ireland? Is it not universally known that the ignorance, presumption, and incapacity of that man, have ruined the King's affairs in Ireland?—that he has in a great measure, destroyed the political dependence of that country upon Great Britain? But he too, is an unconnected being, without any hope of support but in the protection of Lord Bute and the Princess Dowager (iii. 319).

THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

HIS Majesty, who judges of men by their moral characters, has discovered at last that this nobleman is as well qualified for one post as another. His religion would do honour to a mitre. If he were Archbishop of Canterbury, the Princess Dowager of Wales could not do better than make him her father confessor. In the primitive spirit of Christianity *they might confess to one another* (iii. 309). The choice and preference of the most profligate character in the kingdom may suit well enough with the substantial purposes of Carlton House, but how does it consist with the hypocritical decorum of St. James's? What opinion are we to entertain of the piety, chastity, and integrity of the best of Princes, when in the face of England and of all Europe, he takes such a man as Sandwich to his bosom! (iii. 320). Let us hear no more of the piety of St. James's. To talk of morals or devotion in such company is a scandalous insult to common sense, and a still more scandalous mockery of religion (iii. 321).

THE EARLS OF BUTE AND CHATHAM.

To create or foment confusion, to sacrifice the honour of a king, or to destroy happiness of a nation, requires no talent, but a natural *itch* for doing mischief. We have seen it performed for years successively, with a wantonness of triumph, by a man who had neither abilities nor personal interest, nor even common personal courage (Lord Bute). It has been possible for a noto-

rious coward, skulking under a petticoat, to make a great nation the prey of his avarice and ambition. But I trust the time is not very far distant when we shall see him dragged forth from his retirement, and forced to answer severely for all the mischiefs he hath brought upon us. It is not above a twelvemonth ago since all his arts might have been defeated, and the venomous spider itself caught and trampled on in its own webs. It was then his good fortune to corrupt one man, from whom we least of all expected so base an apostacy (the Earl of Chatham). Who, indeed, could have suspected, that it should even consist with the spirit or understanding of that person, to accept of a share of power under a pernicious court minion, whom he himself had affected to detest or despise, as much as he knew he was detested and despised by the whole nation? I will not censure him for the avarice of a pension, nor the melancholy ambition of a title. These were objects which he perhaps looked up to, though the rest of the world thought them far beneath his acceptance. But to become the stalking-horse of a stallion, to shake hands with a Scotchman at the hazard of catching all his infamy; to fight under his auspices against the constitution; and to receive the word from him, prerogative and a thistle (by the once-respected name of Pitt); it is even below contempt. May that union, honourable as it is, subsist for ever! may they continue to smell at one thistle, and not be separated even in death! (ii. 466).

THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

THAT you are a civil, polite person, is true. Few men understand the little morals better, or observe the great ones less, than your Lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest man's face while you pick his pocket. These are the virtues of a Court in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school, you might have learnt that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of this country while you, my Lord, the darling child of prudence

and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honourable interest in the ante-chamber of a favourite (iii. 147).

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

THE life of this young man is a satire on mankind. The treachery which deserts a friend, might be a virtue compared to the fawning baseness which attaches itself to a declared enemy. Lord Chatham became his idol, introduced him into the most difficult departments of the state, and left him there to shift for himself. It was a masterpiece of revenge. Unconnected, unsupported, he remains in office without interest or dignity, as if the income were an equivalent for all loss of reputation. Without spirit or judgment to take an advantageous moment of retiring, he submits to be insulted as long as he is paid for it (iii. 173).

SIR EDWARD HAWKE.

I cannot mention the name of Sir Edward Hawke without concern. How unfortunate it is, that a heart unacquainted with fear should have so little sense of propriety and decorum! I should be sorry to puzzle him with intricate questions, either of policy or morals, but there are some distinctions within the reach of even *his* understanding. In his situation it particularly became him to regulate his conduct by the judgment of the public. Though not expected to think for himself, he might have taken a generous part with the friends of his country, and still have been respected for the integrity of his intentions. To what a poor, insignificant condition has he now reduced himself! (iii. 249).

LORD HALIFAX.

WHAT merit has Lord Halifax? The issue of general warrants—the opposition of his privilege, for years together, to the laws of his country—prostitution in private life, and poverty in the extreme (iii. 320).

LORD WEYMOUTH.

Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious, conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties in the service of the Crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of Bedford: no, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate on which, for aught he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment (i. 57).

SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

Dr. Blackstone is Solicitor to the Queen. The Doctor recollected that he had a place to preserve, though he forgot that he had a reputation to lose. We have now the good fortune to understand the Doctor's principles as well as writings. For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the Doctor's book may be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbour of his estate, or to rob a country of its rights, need make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself (i. 158).

THE REV. MR. HORNE.

PERMIT me to recommend this Gentleman to your Grace's protection. You will find him copiously gifted with those qualities of the heart which usually direct you in the choice of your friendships. He too was Mr. Wilkes's friend, and as incapable as you are, of the liberal resentment of a gentleman. No, my Lord; it was the solitary vindictive malice of a monk, brooding over the infirmities of his friend, until he thought they quickened into public life; and feasting with a rancorous rapture, upon the

sordid catalogue of his distresses. Now let him go back to his cloister. The church is a proper retreat for him. In his principles he is already a Bishop (ii. 256).

THE NORTH BRITONS.

(A STUDY, *not* FROM NATURE.)

PERMIT me to begin with paying a tribute to Scotch sincerity wherever I find it. I own I am not apt to confide in the professions of gentlemen of that country, and when they smile I feel an involuntary emotion to guard myself against mischief (ii. 160). As to the Scotch, I must suppose your Majesty's heart and understanding so biassed from your earliest infancy in their favour, that nothing less than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. Appearances are, however, in their favour; so strongly indeed that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful King, and had mistaken you for a Pretender to the Crown. Let it be admitted then, that the Scotch are as sincere in their present professions as if you were in reality not an Englishman, but a Briton of the North. You would not be the first Prince of their native country against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you that part of our history, when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open avowed indignation of his English subjects, and surrendered himself at discretion, to the good faith of his own countrymen? Without looking for support in their affections, as subjects, he applied only to their honour, as gentlemen, for protection;—they received him, as they would your Majesty, with bows, and smiles, and falsehood, and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English Parliament, then basely sold their native King to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch Parliament, representing the nation (ii. 278).

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